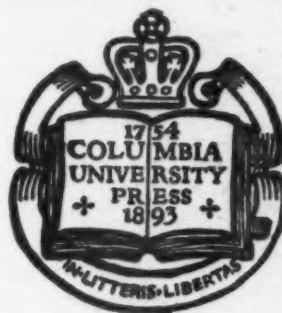


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# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER and ARTHUR HAIRE FORSTER

*Professors in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago*

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars  
throughout the Church

VOLUME III

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## THE "LIFE-STREAM" AND THE NATURE OF AUTHORITY

By LAIRD WINGATE SNELL, Helena, Montana

It is characteristic of the Communion that derive their origin from apostolic times, as the Roman, Greek, or Anglican, in contrast with Communion of late origin, that they conceive the Church of Christ as a veritable body—His body, a definable, concrete organism which continues the incarnation of the Son of God among men. The reasons for this special corporate consciousness characterizing the historic communion are doubtless many and varied. Professor Royce calls attention, in "The Problem of Christianity," to the fact that a corporate memory reaching into a past of comparative remoteness is an element without which no social group can possess organic character; and nowhere among the myriad institutions of humankind is there a social memory comparable in wealth, variety, concreteness, human appeal, to the corporate memory of the historic Church, just as there is none so ancient or continuous. Besides this ancient teeming memory, there is also in the historic Communion the clear-cut belief that their continuous corporate existence reaches back and makes direct manifold contact with the actual Son of God in the flesh: by the sacraments continuously

administered from the day that He imparted them; by the practice of the mode of worship, and, in its large outlines, of the form of worship, that He Himself practiced in the synagogue; by the large and constant use of the Psalter and the other Old Testament Scriptures that He too used; by the passing on by His apostles and their successors of the Spirit which He sent from the Father, through the unbroken succession of the laying on of hands; but especially by partaking of the particular organization that He deliberately and prayerfully formed, indubitably the same organization still. This sense of manifold, concrete contact with Jesus Christ in the flesh serves to establish and keep vivid in the historic Communion the consciousness that they are in an actual and literal sense His present Body on earth. The name which these ancient Communion use in common as distinguishing them from Communion lacking this organic continuity and historical contact is "Catholic." A Communion that lays particular stress upon its catholic character and makes much use of the Catholic name will be found to be a Communion that believes itself to be in this concrete sense the veritable Body, or part of the veritable Body, of Jesus Christ.

Physical bodies or organisms are subject to certain laws, biologic principles; and social organisms, such as the nation or the Church, are subject to these same general principles. It is the aim of this paper to apply one or two of these biologic principles to the Church, and to show that the postulates of modern thought and the results of modern Biblical criticism, viewed in the light of these principles, serve markedly to reinforce the conception of the Church described above as Catholic.

Henri Bergson, tracing the course of organic development in his *Creative Evolution*, lays emphasis on the fact that life is free. He speaks not of life in its particular activities in individual organisms, but of the great psychic Life-stream, the original Vital Impulse, the work of whose vast onward creative urge is seen in the age-long course of organic evolution.

This psychic stream of life, bringing into being the innumerable succession of organic forms, at each step of its creative activity has been free,—free, that is, in the sense that no step has been predetermined, mechanically necessitated, a predictable consequent from given antecedents. On the contrary, each forward step in the evolutionary process, in contrast to the steps in mechanical or chemical processes, has been wholly unpredictable; in no sense and in no degree is a new development in the evolutionary process given in its antecedents or contained in the stages that precede. It is a creation *de novo*, something new under the sun, non-mechanical, undetermined, a free creation in its very essence.

We have then, on the one hand, the physical and chemical reactions of matter, mechanical in nature, operating under laws that give perfect predictability, consequents determined by and contained in antecedents, a process, if left to itself, unchanging and unchangeable, the antithesis of freedom. On the other hand is the life-stream, laying hold upon matter, upon its mechanical reactions, its determinate processes, and creating in their midst a realm of freedom. And the work of the stream of life is ever to enlarge this its sphere of freedom; through plants and the lower animals, then through stage on stage of the higher animal forms, and at last through man, to introduce into determinate matter an ever larger degree of indeterminism, an ever larger scope for life's own free creative activity.

In the course of organic evolution, moreover, as Bergson outlines its history, the creative life-stream, in the face of the unceasing opposition of matter, tends to settle down upon the forms already attained, to give up new creation, content with a present achievement and its security; but for its own self-fulfilment it must turn its back upon such security, must force a way through the fixedness and determinism of law-bound matter, must risk and dare, and blaze a new path through the present actual to that larger, better, freer development that lies beyond the certain and the safe.

In like manner exactly, in the life of the spirit, man is free, and he conserves his freedom and realizes progress by ceaselessly enlarging the scope of his freedom in the face of ceaseless opposition, pressing forward against innumerable obstacles to broader fields of mastery, loftier heights of creation and self-expression. And this progress of the spirit is constantly met with the temptation presented by the medium in which the spirit works to settle down content with the present, to rest in actual attainment, to prefer an assured security to the unknown hazards of faith. In the religious life this temptation, in a peculiarly insidious form, presents itself as the need and longing for an outward authority, some standard, some finality, whereon mind and conscience can rest, freed from the responsibility of self-determination, from the harassing questionings of conscience, the complex problems of intellectual integrity, and dwell in the peace and security afforded by a sufficient and recognized authority. But it is the peace and security of stagnation and death. The life of the spirit must be lived by faith—a ceaseless pressing forward without certainties and guaranties as to the way, believing in the attainability of truth through human endeavor under all the limitations of human fallibilities, holding as fact the meaning of the Incarnation, that the life itself of the spirit, by the light of faith, can and must win its own precarious way amidst innumerable pitfalls to ultimate truth and freedom.

The argument for an outward authority is most plausible: truth leads to eternal life, error to destruction; to do right is an absolute imperative, and right conduct flows from right belief. Inasmuch then as a just God demands righteousness of all men and obedience to the truth, and a loving God wills that none should perish but that all should come to salvation, it is plain that He must have provided somewhere, where men can hear it if they will, in answer to their ceaseless anxious questioning, "What is right? what is truth?", the Word of Authority, sufficient and final, behind which men need not, must not, go.

For this authority the Eastern Church looks to the Creeds: to believe what was believed from the beginning exactly in the sense in which it was first believed—Orthodoxy—that is God's absolute for man; for the creeds express and preserve that deposit of divine and saving truth which the incarnate Son of God brought to earth expressly for man's salvation. To believe the creeds in their original sense is to hold the truth and attain salvation.

The Roman Church discovers the needed authority in a man, the Vicar of Christ. Experience shows that the creeds themselves require definition; new times raise new questions, give new meanings to old words. Let the task of interpretation be lodged in the members of a group, the definitions become in time as many as the members. But since, as God wills not to leave men without authority, there must be authoritative interpretation, and authoritative interpretation can come only through a single Interpreter, it follows as the logical conclusion that him who sits in Peter's chair, as earthly head of Christ's Church, God has endowed with power to speak authoritatively, that is infallibly, in what concerns man's endless destiny—matters of faith and morals. As always, granting Rome's premises, her logic is flawless and unanswerable. Granting the premise that there must be a final outward authority, the logic is inescapable that that authority resides in one man; and granting the one-man authority, the Bishop of Rome can present credentials at least better than any one else's to the effect that he is that man.

The Protestant Reformation on its metaphysical side was the putting away of outward authority and the substitution therefor of the inward authority of the individual conscience and each soul's immediate contact with God. Because of the weakness of human nature it was inevitable that the mass of Protestants should still seek the assurance and seeming security of authority, and the Bible, taken as the infallible Word of God, served as the mirage, at least, of

the soul's great Rock of authority in a weary land. Actually, and of necessity, this has meant all but unrestricted individualism, with the consequent multiplicity of standards of belief and criteria of saving truth almost as numerous and varied as types of the human mind. The natural and deplorable result is that multitudes of Protestant Christians honestly believe that it makes no particular difference what one believes. This hopeless sectarianism and still more hopeless indifference and practical unbelief provide Rome with the best of artillery to direct against the Protestant position. It causes not a few in the Anglican Communion, moreover, real concern lest the seeming nebulosity of Anglican standards and laxness of discipline constitute an invitation to the vagaries of the day to find a home in their own fold.

As a matter of fact, Anglican practice since the reformation in regard to the principle of authority has followed the one and only true course. Not that our Ship of Church, indeed, has steered a course ideally straight and steady; but she has, nevertheless, brought us consistently towards the haven where we would be. Her practice, largely unconscious, has been that of *trusting the life that informs the Body of Christ*; discovering authority in no outward word or standard, nor yet leaving the formulation of truth that is the pabulum of the soul to as many minds as there are men or as many sects as there are types of mind; recognizing conscience, indeed, as the ultimate authority, man's sole and only absolute, but trusting the developing corporate mind and conscience of the Church, the Self-incarnating Spirit of Jesus Christ, to guide individuals and society into all the truth; while for standards of interpretation for Bible and creed, for the advisory authority of the specialist in things religious, for varying formulations of truth to meet the needs so deep and various of all souls in all conditions and of all times, she looks to the works of the Great Ones of the Church, the saints and spiritual leaders, the choicest fruit of whose thought and toil and prayer she possesses and preserves in the slowly growing



but all the more true and completely vital forms of Church devotional observances, seasons, customs, ways, worship, and liturgy.

The Church has not been unswervingly true to this principle of authority, nor clearly conscious of its central and priceless significance; but at decisive crises she has always followed it; when face to face with the issue she has proved her distrust of outward authority—a lesson well learned from her experience with Rome—and her trust in the inner corporate life. Consideration of the bearing upon the Catholic conception of the Church of the biologic principles outlined above concerning the freedom of the life versus the bondage of the form should serve to clarify the unsettled thought of the Anglican Communion as to the nature and seat of authority, and help to guide it through the difficult and momentous times that are even now upon the Church of Christ.

The Life-stream within the Church, which is the Self-incarnating Christ, must evolve in freedom. The Church's danger and temptation, nay, her constant experience, made up as she is of sinful mortals, is to submit to the bondage, the formal, determinate, legal morality, of the human nature she is set to re-create and transform, set to deliver from this very bondage. One phase of this submission to bondage by the Church is her setting up of an outward authority, and thereby the placing of fatal bonds upon the normal free development of the inner Life. Witness the arrested development of the eastern Communions. The Russian Church has exemplified, not the primitive purity and vitality that by her rigid orthodoxy she has meant to insure, but Christian infancy—a religion with all the naïve, vague, mystical, and *unmoral* character of the infant consciousness. The Roman Communion, looking increasingly to an outward authority in the Chair of Peter, illustrates another type of arrested development—the form of life that gains security by shaping to itself hard and fast defensive armor. Bergson notes the stage in animal evolution where all the early life forms, even

the most advanced, were protected by armored coverings, and "hence a sudden arrest of the entire animal world in its progress towards higher and higher mobility,"<sup>1</sup> an arrest in development from which insects and fishes finally escaped, but only by discarding their armor, and, through risks that were most real and fateful, gaining the larger freedom. If we may consider that the mediæval Church was at an analogous stage of arrested progress caused by its development of a rigid protective armor of authority, Osborn's comment regarding this stage of organic development is peculiarly suggestive. Of the armored types he says, "There is usually an increase of bodily size, also an increase of specialization, the maximum in both being reached just before the period of extinction arrives."<sup>2</sup>

It may well be that the Church's defence through its first centuries against the attacks of paganism, and the wave on overwhelming wave of barbarism and social chaos in the centuries following, justified, if it did not necessitate, the protective armor which the Church shaped for itself out of antecedent Roman imperialism and the natural prestige and power of the See of Peter. Be that as it may, the history of reforms within the Roman Communion down to the days of Molinos, whose work so nearly attained its momentous goal—not to speak of the Modernist Movement within that Communion in our own day—is proof sufficient that the principle of authority as held in the Church of Rome is bondage of the most fatal sort upon creative life.

In neither the Eastern Communions nor the Roman is life absent of course; and the life existing mediates for multitudes the living Christ. The arrested development in each case is but partial, for the reason that the authority resorted to in each case is not and cannot be made completely definitive, fails, that is of being authoritative. The endeavor to receive and hold the creeds as at the beginning is futile—

<sup>1</sup> *Creative Evolution*, pp. 130, 131.

<sup>2</sup> *The Origin and Evolution of Life*, Henry Fairfield Osborn, p. 165.

the meaning of the creeds has changed and will continue to change with the changes in human modes of thought. In the case of Rome the authority is still more variable and fluctuating since it rests in a succession of men each one of whom is the product and reflection of his age. In both cases the life-stream can move forward in its creative work in proportion as the outward authority fails to function as what it claims to be—authority.

The Anglican Communion in avoiding dependence on any outward authority is not faced, as Rome believes and many of its own members fear, with but the other horn of a dilemma—crass individual judgment with the license and chaos it has wrought in Protestantism. The Anglican Communion holds, incorporated and wrought into every tissue and fiber of its being, the faith that the Church is the actual body on earth of the living Christ. As a material organism it has a corporate life—nothing less than the Spirit of Jesus Christ; and a corporate mind, conscience, rationality, ideal—each informed by one and the same Spirit, albeit marred by the frailties and sins of the body, composed as it is of mortal members. Here in the Church's corporate life and mind is the seat of religious authority; an authority inward not outward, imparted not imposed, developing not static, relative not absolute. Imparted to the members and not imposed upon them, it is ultimately the authority of their own consciences, inviting their coöperation with the whole Body and its indwelling Spirit in the progressive incarnating of the truth as it is in Jesus—the loftiest possible exercise of the individual reason, judgment, conscience, and ideal impulses, of each and all the members; the exercise that constitutes men spiritual beings and conditions their becoming sons of God. At the same time by their union with the Body it invites and warns the members earnestly to look to the Body for guidance, correction, inspiration, restraint—that submission that makes one a living member of the Beloved Community and realizes the only complete freedom of the soul.

The authority here is that of the Christ-ideal progressively incarnated in the body, and apprehended by the corporate mind, of the Church; not limited by the limited mentalities of an aggregation of individuals, but freely developing through the largeness and normality of a social life and mind organized on the lines of universality. The authority is real because it is the appeal of the progressively incarnate Christ-ideal to the conscience of each man, and conscience is ultimate authority. And the life within the Body being the very Christ insures true development for body and members provided the Life within is allowed its freedom, not forced into the mold of outward authority. The experience which comes to the members of the body of Christ, through loyal surrender under conscience, of true individual and corporate development on the lines of the Christ-ideal is the only authority beside conscience we need, the only authority beside conscience we can find, and the only authority beside conscience God intends us to have. For God's method is to give man nothing outright save the opportunity, and so the invitation, to win everything—truth and right and holiness, mastery of the world, and the Kingdom. This is God's method because it is God's purpose to bring into being sons of God; and only through the divine impulsion to win the Kingdom for themselves shall finite creatures become divine. This is the opposite of leaving God out of the process: He is in and through it all—its soil, its atmosphere, its sun. On man's part the process is wholly one of coöperation with the divine: nothing without God's will, so also nothing without man's will, and nothing of man's will without touch with the divine; primarily the touch that is conscience, progressively extended through prayer and faith to include a man's entire activity, the response of his whole being to the divine environment and its "godly motions." Authority of this sort—growing and changing and so challenging intelligence, inviting and winning not compelling the soul, requiring free creative coöperation, not a finished deposit to be taken or

left—provides the discipline that has made and alone can make sons of God out of those who were animals. For it demands at every step the supreme moral exercise of assertive faith, and ceaselessly summons the nascent spirit to coöperative endeavor with the Holy Ghost.

The authority of the life-stream within the Church is real because the corporate mind of the Church actually imparts itself, its truth, its fulness, its varied wealth, its wisdom, its attitude and method, above all its Christ, to the individual members. Nothing less than marvellous is the power of the historic Church to seize upon individual minds, even minds the most individual and robust, and—through the deep rationality and humanness of her ways, customs, methods, points of view, traditions, her incarnated thought wrought by the hands of her saints and sages—to shape them to her own nature, furnish them with her own concepts, harmonize them to her own consciousness, inspire them with her ideals that reach backward and stretch forward to include the ages, and weave them into the resplendent living tapestry that is her communion of saints.

Authority thus conceived is most truly catholic, being derived from that which is the center and core of Catholicism—the reality of Christ's present earthly body, a social organism progressively incarnating Him. At the same time the conception accords completely with modern thought. Modern understanding of the principle of development has made universally evident the truth, earlier and once for all established by Kant's analysis of knowledge and experience, that standards all are relative. The modern historical method, specifically, has demonstrated the relativity and mutability of those particular standards where portions of the Church have fondly believed they had an absolute for their authority—the Creeds, the Papacy, and the Scriptures. A defined authority of universal obligation, wholly different of course from the authority of advice which belongs to the expert, we know to-day to be an impossibility. If God spoke to



man from the heavens, in the speaking His authority would end. For either He would expose His word to challenge, inviting endless question and investigation—"Was it God, or was it devil?"—or, if placed beyond challenge, He would by that fact eliminate the moral factor; He would be forcing His will upon men, not engaging the assent of their freedom. But to eliminate the moral factor would be annul authority; the free man must say, "My freedom may not be forced"—and his disobedience be accounted to him for righteousness.

On the other hand, the authority of a divine norm progressively incarnate in a social organism, progressively outlined and envisaged in the corporate consciousness of that organism, and progressively imparted to and apprehended by the members of that organism, is a conception that finds itself at once at home in the world of modern thought. In the individual it is the authority of conscience, that yet binds him up to the social whole, so preventing individualism with its abnormalities, divisiveness, and chaos. In society it is the authority of the ideal of the coming Kingdom of God, that yet preserves inviolate the freedom and responsibility of conscience, overriding individual judgment by no least compulsion.

It is, moreover, definitely the authority of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. And the authority of Jesus Christ thus understood as that of His Holy Spirit, speaking indeed directly to conscience, but insuring the wholeness of that appeal and the soundness of the individual response by no fixed formulations or standards or dicta but only by His Spirit's progressive incarnation in a social body, is again a conception at once true to the central and essential feature of Catholicism, and at the same time supported and developed by modern thought and modern science. Despite our Lord's exceeding care never to legislate or to formulate rules but only to enunciate or to embody in figure and parable principles of broadest application, His followers have continuously sought to turn His teaching into laws, His figures into regulations; to establish as from Jesus Christ, that is, fixed standards of authority.



Scientific study of the records demonstrates the futility and the falseness of undertaking to bound the meaning and the majesty of the Incarnate Son by any fixed formulations whatever, or to tie the truth that is His Person to any given words. The Incarnate Son we discover there indeed, behind those matchless records—behind them and shining through them, the effulgence of the Father's glory. The records are true: the challenge they present to belief is that erring mortal men could be so true in transmitting truth so transcendent. But they are true because they transmit a Spirit; because they are transparent to the shining through of the personality of the Son of God. And they are thus supremely, matchlessly true because they are not transcriptions, they are not literal, they do not reproduce. The Christ transcends reproduction in words; He bestows a Spirit that reproduces Him in life. Candid examination of the records shows that we can never know when we have the very words of Christ. Even if the Greek be not always a translation, we discover that in recording his Lord's sayings St. Matthew did not purpose to be literal, St. Luke freely altered and amended, St. John mingled his own meditations with his Lord's teaching, and such sayings as we have in the second Gospel are, we suppose, St. Mark's brief notes of Christ's teachings culled from the preaching of St. Peter. And this is as God meant it: the Gospel records to be marvellous vehicles of the truth as truth was incarnate in Jesus, not transcriptions of the externals and accidentals of the Man; transcendent appeals to men's consciences, not fixed rules for an ever-changing world; not the letter that killeth, but the Spirit that giveth life.

The Anglican Communion has stood for the conception of Catholicism here set forth. Never heartily acknowledging the claims of Rome, since renouncing them she has recognized no outward authority. The authority of the bishops has been that of practical direction in matters of Church economy, not the spiritual authority claimed by the Bishop of Rome in things of conscience and faith. Appeals made

at different internal crises both in England and the United States to bishops or Church legislative bodies to set up such authority have been met by action that many have deemed weak and compromising, in which, as a matter of fact, our leaders have stood true to the genius of our Communion. Largely unconsciously it may be, we have trusted the life within the Church; and Christ being that life, the Church that trusts it is led aright.

With our Church holding this position, we need for her sound and assured development but to keep in mind two principles that are fundamental for all organic forms: continuity and liberty. True development for an organism involves continuity—no breaking with the past, but a growing out of the past. The continuity of the Church on its visible, bodily side inheres in the regularity of its orders, depending in special upon the historic episcopate. This is the physical identity of the organism. The continuity of the Church's mental or spiritual life, corresponding to the continuous consciousness of the individual, inheres in the creeds. This may be termed the personal identity of the organism. Consciousness and mentality are static no more than a growing body is static. The creeds are not static; they are organic. They came into being by growth—uniquely complete illustrations, in fact, of certain outstanding biological laws. They are growing still with the growth and change of human words and concepts. We must be ready to see them grow still more in the future. And if the Church but heeds the principle of continuity—truth to the past in all developments out of the past—the growth will be sound and beneficent.

Not only to the principle of continuity but to that of liberty our Church must take heed to stand true: jealous for the large creative freedom of the life-stream that is Christ; guarding against the bondage so easily acquired of the existing form, of legalism, of authority, of the fear of change, of the love of present security, of the indolence that seeks the path of least resistance; trusting the Life, welcoming the change that is

growth, knowing that life to be life must ceaselessly create and its activity must be free and its creations must be new. Thus will the door be opened wide to the Spirit of Jesus Christ through the Church to bring the Kingdom; and the Anglican Church, true to her genius, true to her past, true to these great principles of organic existence, will fulfil the mission that is hers, to lead the way in bringing into being the Body completely Catholic, that shall be adequate to the recreating of the moral nature of man, adequate to the upbuilding of humanity into Him the Head, adequate to the incarnating of the Son of God in human society.

## HEBREW OR AKKADIAN?

### A CRITIQUE OF NAVILLE'S HYPOTHESIS OF A CUNEIFORM TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York City

The idea that Moses wrote in cuneiform was first expressed, as a guess, by Colonel Conder, on behalf of a traditional view of the Old Testament. It was then developed in a modified form by A. H. Sayce.<sup>1</sup> It was taken up independently by the Pan-Babylonists and a few other critics.<sup>2</sup> It has now been taken up very thoroughly, on behalf of conservative criticism of the Bible by the Egyptologist E. Naville.<sup>3</sup> This new theory has been publicly commended by four scholars, V. Bérard and G. Radet Hellenists, C. Jullian, a specialist in Early French history and E. Doumergue, a Church historian. It has not been accepted and defended, to our knowledge, by one single Hebrew or Semitic scholar, whether conservative or liberal, or by any archeologist or historian of the Near East. It has been sharply criticized by some and at times not fairly presented. We shall do well if, taking in due consideration his reputation,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his introd. to the English edition of Naville's *Discovery of the Law*, 1911, where arguments previously given are repeated. Sayce presented his view only as a probability (p. XI) and by no means supported Naville's hypothesis even then.

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, *Assyr. Forsch.*, III, 1902, 165; P. Rieszler, *Das AT u. d. bab. keilsch. Theol. quartalsch.*, 1911, 493-504. (Cf. Koenig, *Das AT u. d. bab. Sprache u. Schrift*, NKZ, 1913, 24, 87-118); Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte d. Alt. Orients*,<sup>3</sup> 1916, 370; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archeologie*,<sup>2</sup> 1907, 178; P. Berger, *Comment était écrit le Décalogue*, mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg, 1909, 19-21.

<sup>3</sup> Naville's theory is found in its inceptive stage in a memoir presented to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in 1910 on *La découverte de la Loi sous le roi Josias*; English edition in 1911. The hypothesis is fully developed in *Archeology of the Old Testament. Was the OT written in Hebrew*, 1913; *The Text of the Old Testament*, 1916; *L'archéologie de l'Ancien Testament (Revue de théol. et de philos.)*, 1916; Introduction to Doumergue, *Moïse et la Genèse*, 1920.

his dialectic ability and his enthusiastic convictions, we examine his far-reaching hypothesis, without prejudices or personal leanings.

Briefly outlined, Naville's theory is as follows: (1) In the fifteenth century B.C., the Phoenicians had not yet developed their alphabet from the Cretan. (2) The Tell el-Amarna tablets prove that at the time of Moses, the inhabitants of Canaan used for writing purposes, only the Babylonian language, written in cuneiform, on clay tablets. (3) Moses knew the same script and language and used them. (4) He did not use hieroglyphics because the second commandment prohibits pictorial writing. (5) The name of Yahweh, being an Aramaic formation, proves that the story was transmitted in cuneiform. (6) The Hebrews called the cuneiform "divine writing." (7) We have evidence that they used it in Mosaic times. (8) It was used by David. (9) By Solomon. (10) By the prophets. (11) Even after the Canaanite alphabet spread, it was used only for profane and commercial purposes (as is proved by Is. 8, 1). (12) The copy of the Law found by Hilkiah in the Temple in the days of Josiah was a foundation tablet written in Akkadian cuneiform. (13) The Pentateuch and the rest of the Divine Library, written in cuneiform, were taken to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar. (14) In the days of Isaiah the language of Canaan was Aramaic. (15) After the return from the Captivity, Ezra translated the holy writings from Akkadian into Aramaic. (16) The Elephantine papyri show that Aramaic was the only written language of the Hebrews at that time. (17) Septuagint is a translation of these Aramaic scriptures into Greek (18) The Aramaic Bible was the only one used in Palestine. (19) It was known to our Lord who quotes it. (20) This fact is confirmed by Aristeas. (21) And by Josephus. (22) In the first century A. D., the Aramaic Scriptures were translated into Jewish (the colloquial of Jerusalem, hitherto unwritten). (23) This was done at the imitation of the Samaritans who had a similar translation. (24) The square Hebrew character

was invented by the translators. (25) Our Old Testament is a translation. (26) Higher critics being unaware of that fact, have built up their destructive theories on a philological and literary analysis of a mere version, namely the Masoretic text. Their work falls therefore to the ground before the testimony of archeology.

Naville's theory, being thoroughly logical, depends upon the value of these twenty six theses. It is like a chain of twenty six links. The chain will break if a single link weakens. Were they all breakable, there would be nothing left of the chain as such. We shall therefore take up, one by one, these twenty-six theses.

It is clear that there are two major points in the hypothesis, the first is that most of the Old Testament was written in the Assyro-Babylonian language and in cuneiform; the second that these cuneiform texts were translated by Ezra into Aramaic and remained in that language until the rabbis translated them into Hebrew (or rather Jewish), in the first century of our era. Our treatment of the subject will then naturally cover two articles, the present one taking the subject of a cuneiform text of the Old Testament, the second being on the subject of the Aramaic version, with a general conclusion.

1. *Cretan versus Egyptian origin of the Phœnician Alphabet* (Naville, *Text*, p. V). Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* brought to the fore the hypothesis that the Phœnician Alphabet is not of Egyptian but of Cretan origin.<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis, of vital importance to Naville, was killed by the discovery by Petrie, of the proto-Semitic inscriptions of Sinai, which belong, perhaps to the twelfth, at least to the eighteenth dynasty, and are certainly not later than 1500 B.C. These inscriptions show clearly that the Semitic alphabet was derived from hieroglyphic.<sup>5</sup> Sayce has also called attention

<sup>4</sup> H. Schneider, *Der Kretischen Ursprung des "phœnikischen Alphabets,"* 1913, 1-113.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *The Egyptian origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, J. of Eg. Arch. 3, 1916, 1-16; A. E. Cowley, *The origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, J. Eg. Arch. 3, 17-21; Sethe, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, Nachrichten Goett. Ges. d. W. 1916, Heft 2;



to an inscription of four letters of more *cursive* form upon a wooden instrument discovered by Petrie among twelfth century remains at Kahun.<sup>6</sup> We admit that the ultimate origin of the alphabet is as yet a riddle and that a good deal of the material is at present not placed with certainty in the evolution of script.<sup>7</sup> We only claim that there is, at present, no reason for rejecting the Greek tradition which tells us that the Hellenes received their alphabet from the Phœnicians, whatever these may have been. Not only is the Greek term *biblion* derived from Byblos, a Phœnician city which imported much papyri from Egypt in 1100 B.C. (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, 277, 282, 284) but the Greek term *dellos* and the intermediate Cypriote form *dallos* point to another and probably an earlier Phœnician contribution to Greek civilization.<sup>8</sup> In the present state of our knowledge, it is safe to declare that the Phœnician alphabet was not evolved from the Minoan, but from the Egyptian hieroglyphic, through an intermediate (Sinaitic) stage.

2. *Does the Tell el-Amarna correspondence prove that the Canaanites knew in the fifteenth Century B.C. only one script (the cuneiform)?* Naville, *Text* p. 37.) We have seen that in Sinai, a region far less civilized than Canaan and Phœnicia, there was a Semitic alphabet. The kings of Tyre and Sidon, and the kings of Canaan could not use this script in their letters to Pharaoh, because it was naturally adapted to their

*Die neuentdeckte Sinai Schrift u. d. Entsteh. d. semit. Schrift*, Heft 3; C. F. Lehman Haupt, *Zur Herkunft des Alphabets*, ZDMG 73, 1919, 51-79; Sayce, *The origin of the Semitic Alphabet*, JRAS, 1920, 297-303, being a running criticism of Eisler, *Die Kenitischen Weihinschriften der Hyksoszeit*, 1919; Petrie, *The origin of the Alphabet*, Scientia, 24, 1918, 442; Ronzevalle, *Langue et écriture en Israël*, Rech. des Science Rel., 7, 1917, 407-414; Schaefer, *Die Vokallösigkeit des Phœnik. Alphabets*, Z. f. aeg. Spr., 52, 1915, 95-98; Luckenbill, *Possible Babylonian Contributions to the so-called Phœnician Alphabet*, AJSL, 36, 1919, 27-39.

<sup>6</sup> Sayce, *op. cit.*, 301. Cf. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 1890, 43-44, plates 27, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Formation of the Alphabet*, 1912; Scientia, II, 1918, 438-444; Elliot, *Prehistoric Man and his story*, 1915, 299-312, 348, for a survey of the prehistoric material.

<sup>8</sup> V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paleographie*, I, 1911, 123-125.

language, which of course was unknown in Egypt. They made use of the Babylonian which was widely spread and known in both countries to some extent. Their case was similar to that of the Tuareg chiefs Ahitaghel and Ikhenukhen who wrote to Flatters in Arabic, instead of using their own *tifinar's*, although the Arabic language and script were neither their own, nor Flatter's. Indeed these two chiefs followed then the usual practice of the Tuareg.<sup>9</sup> When the Abuna of the Abyssinian Church wrote a few years ago to our own Bishop of Chicago, he did not use the Ethiopic language and script, but he wrote in Arabic, in the Arabic script. The Vai of West Africa have an alphabet of which they are very proud and which is not an esoteric alphabet like that of the Yezidis, but they are compelled to write in English when they correspond with European firms. Additional instances could be given among Malay-speaking peoples proving, like these, that it is by no means true that diplomatic correspondence should always be in the language of either the conqueror or the conquered, as Naville claims, and he has therefore no right to deny that *the Tell el-Amarna correspondence does not prove that the Phœnicians and other Canaanites knew only the cuneiform writing in the fifteenth century.*

3. *Did Moses know cuneiform?* (Naville, *Archaeol.*, 16-17, *Text*, 40). Naville's supposition that Moses knew cuneiform is interesting, but it is only a guess. It is based on two suppositions; the first, that there were only two available written languages, hieroglyphic and cuneiform, the second, that Moses would have been prevented from using hieroglyphics by the second commandment. The facts of the case are: first, there was *another* written language, his own mother tongue, as we know from the inscriptions of Sinai (see above) a country where, by the way, Moses spent most of his life. Second, the hieroglyphic was not forbidden to him, as we shall see presently. Third, from the fact that, before the days of Moses, the people of Canaan, a country

<sup>9</sup> Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, 1864, 420; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, 1908, 42.

where Moses never was, used cuneiform, it does not follow that Moses, who never entered that country, used the same writing. Naville supposes that Moses was an interpreter at Pharaoh's court but that is only another supposition without proofs. *There is no evidence that Moses necessarily knew cuneiform.*

4. *Hieroglyphics and the Second Commandment* (Naville, *Arch.*, 18). A tradition that Naville will certainly not reject, tells us that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts 7<sup>22</sup>), and that, of course, included learning to read and write hieroglyphics. The second commandment prohibits idolatry, but does not prohibit sculpture and art. This is the plain meaning of the text (Cf. also Lev. 26<sup>1</sup>; Deut. 16<sup>22</sup>, 27<sup>15</sup>); the same interpretation would have been that of Moses (Ex. 36<sup>8, 35</sup>, 37<sup>7-9</sup>; Nb. 21<sup>9</sup>) and even of Solomon (1 Kn. 7<sup>25, 29, 36</sup>, 6<sup>23-35</sup>). Facts speak louder than theories; we claim in the light of facts, that *the second commandment does not prohibit pictorial writing.*

5. *The etymology of Yahweh.* Naville offers an etymology of Yahweh on the basis of the Aramaic language (*Text*, 62). This was pointed out 35 years ago by Halévy (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, 9<sup>170</sup>) as well as the probable Aramaic origin of Eloah. The language of the Abrahamids was Aramaic and it was preserved by the nomads east of Jordan and probably the Kenites. But this, being a point of language, has nothing to do with the *script* used by Moses or any one else. Whether the Kenites spoke Aramaic or Arabic has no bearing on the question at issue. If we granted that Naville is right in his identification of the Aramaic and Akkadian languages (*Arch.*, 166) and accepted his argument on Yahweh, as proving that Moses wrote the story in the Aramaic language and the cuneiform script, he would have to grant us that the various popular etymologies of the Old Testament based on the Old Testament similarly show that the language spoken was Hebrew, and that the script was also Hebrew; for such popular etymologies could not have survived two or three

translations. However, we shall not grant to Naville that Akkadian *is* Aramaic, and no Assyriologist will agree with him here. It remains therefore that *the Aramaic etymology of Yahweh, if proved, sheds no light on the discussion.*

6. *Was cuneiform the divine writing?* (Naville, *Arch.*, 17-18). The supposition that the Hebrews considered cuneiform a *divine writing* is based on the theory that they must have known cuneiform. We saw that it was not proved. Indeed, had the Hebrews known cuneiform, they would have been aware that it was no more sacred than their own script; out of the hundreds of thousands of tablets now excavated, an immense number are not worth publication; they are usually bills, letters, receipts, accounts. A small minority deal with religious subjects. The Tell el-Amarna correspondence is far from sacred. Cuneiform was not looked upon as sacred in Canaan in the fifteenth century, nor in later ages, which have left us a few tablets. The Assyrians themselves did not look upon the cuneiform as essentially divine, as can be seen by statements made by Esarhaddon, showing that an apparently non-cuneiform script was especially sacred.<sup>10</sup> Those Hebrews, who according to Naville revered cuneiform so much because (that is the only explanation we can give) they knew it so little were not so ignorant of writing after all. Their foremen in Egypt were called *shoterim* (scribes) and in the desert there were at least seventy of these (Nu. 11<sup>16</sup>; Cf. Ex. 5<sup>6-15</sup>; Dt. 16<sup>18</sup>), not counting the priests (Nu. 5<sup>23</sup>). It is unlikely that they kept their records, as Naville would have it, in a foreign language, in a most clumsy script, on clay that was a rarity in the desert. We would rather suppose that they wrote their own language, in the Sinaitic script, so well adapted to it, using material at hand (shoulder blades, hides and wooden tablets) as the Arabs living under similar circumstances did later. In texts that Naville takes to be Mosaic (Gen. 41<sup>8, 24</sup>; Ex. 7<sup>11, 22, 83, 14, 15, 915</sup>) the term *hartom* is applied only to foreign magi-

<sup>10</sup> Klauber, *Politisch-Religiose Texte*, 1913, 46-48; Nr. 26, 3, 8, being a prayer to Shamash. Cf. Landsberger, *OLZ*, 1914, 265; Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdw.*, 19.

cians and diviners, thus showing that *inscribing* characters with a stylus was a banned or forgotten achievement. The usual material was evidently the ink and reed of the *sopher*.

Having shown the improbability of Naville's theory, let us take his reference to Ex. 32<sup>16</sup>. There the words *mikhtab Elohim* used of the characters written by God on the tablets of the Law received by Moses, mean *divine writing*, in the that the writer was God himself. This is shown by the parallel passage Ex. 31<sup>18</sup> ("written by the finger of God"). See also Ex. 24<sup>12</sup>, 34<sup>1</sup>, 34<sup>28</sup>; Dt. 4<sup>13</sup>, 10<sup>2, 4</sup>. Secondly, if *mikhtab Elohim* meant cuneiform, its use in Ex. 32<sup>16</sup> *only*, would be meaningless, since according to Naville, the whole Pentateuch and other books of the Bible were written in cuneiform. Thirdly, the contrast between the divine writing in Ex. 32<sup>16</sup>, and a supposed *human writing* in Is. 8<sup>1</sup>, is not a valid argument, because Is. 8<sup>1</sup>, as will be seen later, does not probably bear that interpretation. Fourthly. There is not one single parallel case in comparative ethnology and history. Fifthly. If there had been any *divine writing* in Israel, the Sinaitic script evolved from the *hieroglyphic* would have been far more fitting than profane and commercial cuneiform. Sixthly, Moses himself thought of the Book of Life as a wooden tablet written with ink since he is represented as saying to God in his intercessory prayer "Blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written" (Ex. 32<sup>32</sup>). The Hebrew term for "blot" is the verb *maḥah*. It means to wipe out and not to scrape (which is expressed by *garad*). The same verb *maḥah* is used in Nb. 5<sup>23</sup> where we are told that a wife accused of misconduct drinks the water used for wiping out curses written with ink by the priest on a book (namely a wooden tablet). Professor Naville has witnessed the same procedure as a cure for disease in Egypt. Seventhly, Naville's theories make Moses' task very difficult, when he, taking the book of the covenant written in Akkadian and in cuneiform, read it aloud to the people, translating it into their spoken language (Ex. 24<sup>7</sup>). Still more awkward was his task of



composing a song in the vernacular, translating it into Babylonian, losing thereby its rhythm; then, with the help of that text, teaching it to the people again in the vernacular (Dt. 31<sup>22, 30</sup>). We therefore claim that *cuneiform was not a divine writing in Moses' opinion (on the basis of the mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch)*.

7. *Did Moses enjoin the use of the cuneiform script to the Hebrews?* (Neville Text, p. 41, on Dt. 27<sup>2-4, 8</sup>, namely the command to set up memorials of the Law on mount Ebal). The instructions are, to set up great stones on that mountain, to *whitewash* them with *whitewash*, and to write on them the words of the Law *very plainly*. The current versions of the Bible mistranslated the verb *sid* which means *to whitewash*, and which Neville, being led astray, takes as synonymous of *daub*. We have here a reference to characters painted with a brush on a white surface and apparently not to cuneiform which had to be engraved. Besides the adverbial locution *very plainly* would scarcely have been necessary if the inscription had been in a foreign language like Akkadian and in a script, like cuneiform, which could be sacred only among the ignorant.

Neville himself (*Text*, p. 42) admits that the written texts carried as memorials on the forehead and the hand (Ex. 13<sup>9, 16</sup>; Dt. 6<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>18</sup>) could scarcely have been cuneiform tablets. He claims that the command given there is symbolical as in Prov. 3<sup>3</sup>, 6<sup>21</sup>, 7<sup>3</sup>. But first, a sign, as commanded by the Mosaic legislator, would have been meaningless unless it were real. Secondly, the passages in Proverbs presuppose an ancient custom, so well established, that it can be spiritualized. In the same manner the Quaker doctrine of spiritual baptism presupposes the visible sacrament of the Church. Thirdly, the references in Proverbs are in a different form from the mosaic command. Fourthly, tradition, a very important witness in matters of ceremonial, is against Neville's point of view.

The law on inscriptions on doors (Deut. 6<sup>9</sup>, 11<sup>20</sup>) is incon-



clusive in the question here considered. We claim therefore that *there is no evidence that the Hebrews used cuneiform in Mosaic times.*

8. *Were the Psalms written in cuneiform?* (Naville, Arch. 115). We shall bear in mind that Naville believes in the authenticity of the titles of the Psalms and takes most of them as Davidic. That Assyrian is very different from Hebrew is a fact that can be vouched by any who has studied both languages, still more by any one who knowing Hebrew has failed to make much progress in Babylonian. Besides it is assumed by Is. 28.<sup>11</sup> That Aramaic is different from Hebrew is certain from Is. 36<sup>11-13</sup>, as Naville himself admits. David spoke Hebrew, and composed his poems in that language. Then, according to Naville, the psalms were translated into Akkadian, written in cuneiform, translated centuries later into Aramaic, and a few centuries later into Hebrew. The wonderful part of all that is that some of these Psalms were alphabetical (Ps. 9-10, 25, 34, 37, 145, which are Davidic, and 111, 112, 119 which are not). This alphabetical form, and more especially the elaborate technique of Ps. 119 could not possibly have survived three translations. As a matter of fact, alphabetism could not be preserved in the Targum. Of course no one could maintain that these Psalms became alphabetical only in the first century, before the testimony of the Septuagint (more especially in the case of the irregularities of Ps. 25 and 34). Again the reference to a bookroll (Ps. 40<sup>8</sup>, "Davidic") and to the "blotting out of the book of the living" (Ps. 69<sup>28</sup> "Davidic") are fatal to Naville's hypothesis of a text written on clay tablets. *The Psalter was not written in cuneiform, and was never wholly written in Aramaic.*

9. *The Proverbs written in cuneiform.* (Naville Arch. 193-194). Naville thinks they were, on the basis of Prov. 25<sup>1</sup>, which he translates as follows. "These are the Proverbs of Solomon, the unintelligible ones, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, translated." Naville tells us that

"the unintelligible ones" is a good translation of ἀδιάκριτοι found in some manuscripts of the LXX (the variants being εὐδιάκριτοι and διάκριτοι). The natural meaning here would however be "miscellaneous" (Toy, *Proverbs*, 461). Another sense "without dubiousness," which is not that taken by Naville, is attested by the NT (Jas. 3<sup>17</sup>); the meaning "undistinguishable" is also found. Granted that Naville's stretching of the meaning be justified, it is hard to see how it can be applied to the text here; for it is evident that these proverbs could not have been translated if they had been unintelligible. Besides, if that section of the "Solomonic" collection had to be labelled unintelligible because it was written in cuneiform, which needed to be translated into another literary language in Hezekiah's time, it follows that the preceding chapters were *intelligible* and therefore *not* in cuneiform. Again, if cuneiform was unintelligible in Hezekiah's time, we wonder why the Hebrews continued according to Naville, to use it for several generations.

As for the word *he'tiqu*, which Naville renders "translated," it has not this sense in Hebrew, nor in the Greek translation (ἐκγράφω), nor has it usually that sense in the term used in the Vulgate (*transfere*, which means usually transcribe).

We therefore reject Naville's translation as being based on a loose criticism of the text as well as on unsound lexicography.

A second argument brought forth by Naville is that Solomon must have used cuneiform because the Phœnician script, which became widely current during his reign was thought too profane for the solemn character of the ethical teaching of the king. If a language spread by merchants was *ipso facto* profane, such would be the case with cuneiform. Solomon is supposed by tradition to have been so well informed about the science of his time, that we dare not accuse him of being ignorant of that fact of common knowledge.

We doubt very much whether the alphabetism of the poem praising the good woman (Prov. 31<sup>10-31</sup>) would have survived

one or two translations; we are quite certain that it could not have been preserved through a cuneiform stage. It is therefore clear that *the book of Proverbs was not originally written in Akkadian cuneiform.*

10. *Did the prophets write in cuneiform?* (Naville, *Text*, 45, *Arch.* 193) Naville tells us that Isaiah wrote occasionally in cuneiform but since his theory demands that Is. 8<sup>1</sup> be rejected as evidence in this case, and since he himself declares that in Is. 30<sup>8</sup> the "tablet" mentioned in the text was not of clay and the writing was not in cuneiform<sup>11</sup> we are left entirely without the shadow of a proof. We note Naville's admission that suitable clay was rare in Palestine (*loc. cit.*). We are however unable to admit the statement made at the same place that papyrus did not grow in that country, since there *is* papyrus in the plain of Sharon, on lake Gennesaret and especially on the banks of Lake Huleh as in other parts of Western Asia.<sup>12</sup> Naville admits (*Arch.*, 25) that Jeremiah used a roll for writing purposes. Indeed, the term *megillah* (roll) occurs thirteen times in Jeremiah, four times in Ezekiel, twice in Zechariah. It seems clear from Is. 8<sup>16</sup> that the prophet used also a roll, for his writing was to be *tied* and then *sealed*, as was the case of the Elephantine papyri. Naville claims that Jer. 32<sup>14</sup> refers to the use of cuneiform tablets, but this is a wrong inference from the text, since the contrast there made between "sealed" (*ḥatum*) and "open" (*galuy*) is possible only in the case of writing material that can be *rolled*, and has no force in the case of cuneiform contract tablets. It is interesting to note that, in the late prophetic period, we find the first unmistakable Old Testament reference to a scribe using clay as a writing material, namely the word *tiphsar* (Jer. 51<sup>27</sup>, Nah. 3<sup>17</sup>) which is of course the Akkadian *dubsarru*. In neither of these passages is the *tiphsar* connected with the Hebrews. We have also a Gezer cuneiform tablet dated 648 B.C. where one of the parties is a Jew.

<sup>11</sup> Naville, *The Canaanite Alphabet*, PSBA, 34, 1912, 32.

<sup>12</sup> H. B. Tristram, *Survey of Western Palestine. Faun and Flora*, 1884, 438; V. Gardthausen, *op. cit.*, 50.

Gezer was at that time under Assyrian domination and the calendar followed by the scribe is the Assyrian.

As for Ezekiel, who lived in the very center of Babylonian culture, we saw that he used the term writing roll (*megillah*) four times; he certainly did not look upon writing on clay as sacred, since the book which God gave him to eat, was a roll (Ez. 2<sup>8-10</sup>) and the heavenly messenger, he saw in his vision, had in his girdle, the implements of a scribe in the Egyptian style (Ez. 9<sup>2, 3, 11</sup>). We conclude that *the prophets did not write in cuneiform*.

11. Does Is. 8<sup>1</sup> show the existence of a profane writing? (Naville, *Arch.*, 18-20). Isaiah is told, Take a large *gillayon* and write on it with a common stylus (*heret enosh*): "Belonging to Maher Shalal Hash Baz. The meaning of *gillayon* is uncertain here as in Is. 3<sup>23</sup>. The word *enosh* may mean common (Cf. 2 Sam. 7<sup>14</sup>; Deut. 3<sup>11</sup>; Ez. 24<sup>17, 22</sup>). *Heret* means evidently a metal instrument in Ex. 32<sup>4</sup>, where it is used by Aaron to fashion the golden calf. It may possibly have evolved into our meaning "style" (as it did in Latin) but we have no evidence of that. Here the meaning "common characters" desired by Naville, proved, it would no more follow that it proves the existence of a "divine" or "sacred" writing, than the mention of a common cubit (Dt. 3<sup>11</sup>), common plague (2 Sam. 7<sup>14</sup>) or common bread (Ez. 24<sup>17, 22</sup>) would lead us to admit the existence of divine cubits, plagues or loaves. The meaning of Is. 8<sup>1</sup> is certainly not clear. We think that here *gillayon* means a roll, as that sense is found approximately in Neo-Hebrew. We would connect it with the 16th verse, (I did) tie up the testimony, (I did) seal the oracle in (?) my disciples. The prophet wrote the oracle with ink and pen, but in order to make it more impressive, he inscribed the words (Belonging) to Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz with an ordinary engraving tool, so that they might remain indelible. This explanation may be lame, but Naville's is at least as uncertain, and it is evidently unwise to build upon the dubious interpretation of a

single text, a theory which is everywhere unproved or contradicted by facts. It seems safe to admit at least that *Is. 8<sup>1</sup> should be left out of the discussion until we are sure of its meaning.*

12. *Was the Deuteronomy discovered in Josiah's days a cuneiform foundation-tablet?* (Naville, *Discovery; Arch*, 130-131; Cf. 2 Kn. 22<sup>3-10</sup>, 2 Chron. 34<sup>8-11</sup>). Naville's interesting comparison with the Egyptian custom of depositing writings in foundations does not carry more weight than many comparisons made by panbabylonians on other points. The architects of the Temple were not Egyptians; their overseer was a Phœnician. Egyptian influence on Phœnician art is rather doubtful now; it is improbable that it would have gone as far as the imitation of foundation-rites of that character. Moreover, even if a copy of Moses' law had been buried in the foundation, the texts do not refer to excavations that reached the foundations; we are told only that the Temple was *repaired*. Naville says that most likely the chief priest Hilkiah did not read cuneiform. We agree. But the text does not tell us that the priest did not read the book that was found. Note also that the text says book, and not prism or cylinder; it is evident that if *sepher* ever meant "tablet" it would not help Naville here, for it would take *several* tablets for the book of Deuteronomy. Since Naville will accept the statement that there were in David's time some 6000 priestly scribes, Hilkiah's inability to read would be extraordinary. He read the book of course, *because* it was not in cuneiform.

Naville thinks that "by the hand (*yad*) of Moses" means "as Moses would have written it" or "in the writing of his day." But there is not the slightest evidence for such a meaning of *yad* in Hebrew or any cognate language. Even if Naville could find one single instance, it would not help him, because Moses was never known as a discoverer of cuneiform and because, from Naville's point of view, it had been used since his day. If Naville were right here, he would deal to his own hypothesis a terrible blow, because his interpretation



of *yad* would imply that cuneiform had been discontinued since Moses. We claim therefore that *the book of Deuteronomy was not found in cuneiform*. Even Sayce, who sponsored Naville's *Discovery* before the English public, in 1911, differs from him in the introduction (p. VII) and thinks that the text found was on papyrus or parchment, and therefore apparently not in cuneiform.

13. *Nebuchadrezzar taking the Divine Library to Babylon* (Naville, Arch. 68-69). If all the parts of Old Testament, supposed to be pre-exilic by traditionalists, were written in cuneiform on tablets similar to those of the Babylonian epic *Enuma elish* (Creation poem), about 420 tablets would be necessary. That would be quite a library and one wonders why Nebuchadrezzar would have taken all that to Babylon. That pious monarch was not interested in other gods; he destroyed everything in the Temple and carried away only things of intrinsic value. No doubt, if the sacred Library had been taken away and so miraculously preserved from breakage, we would have had some record of the fact; besides we would have record of its return with Zerubbabel or Nehemiah or Ezra. Moreover, are we to believe that there had been in Jerusalem a succession of providentially guided archivists who kept there in cuneiform (a language which the chief priest could not read) a series of prophetic records, including only those of a minority among the prophets, and excluding the productions of those nationalist prophets which were very popular in Israel among priests and people as well. Finally, the idea that the Old Testament was written in Akkadian and in cuneiform, and therefore is only a part of Babylonian literature will never be endorsed by an Assyriologist. The Old Testament stories are too detailed, too rhetorical in places, too human and too wonderful, we say it without hesitation: they do not belong to Babylonian literature. We do not know of any genealogies in cuneiform, and wonder why Naville insists that the Hebrew *must* have had cuneiform genealogies (*Text*, 32). That would certainly



have been a new style in Babylonia, as well as the sermons of the prophets, the histories of the kings and the detailed directions for the priesthood. There is no similar material in Babylonian literature.

If the Hebrews had been to some extent familiar with wedge writing, we would expect that *some* record of the Golah would have been found in business documents of the period which are very numerous. There has been none so far, to our knowledge.

We therefore conclude that there is no evidence that the Hebrews ever used cuneiform for their sacred writings. There is not *one* tablet of which we can say that it was written by a Hebrew. Before the discovery of the Sinaitic inscriptions, we had a right to suppose that the Hebrews may have used a cuneiform transcription of their own language. Now such supposition would be most improbable. The Old Testament was never written in Akkadian. It remains to be seen whether it was written in Aramaic either as Naville says as a version from cuneiform Babylonian, or as might also be supposed, whether it was, in the first instance, written in Aramaic and translated into Hebrew in the first century of our era. This point will be taken up in our next article.

## ST. ELIZABETH OF SCHOENAU

By W. F. WHITMAN, Bexley Hall, Gambier, Ohio

*Rapta sum in exstasim.* This is the constant refrain of the autobiography of Elizabeth of Schoenau.

Aside from the story of her visions, which she dictated to her brother Eckbert, little is known concerning her. She was born about 1129 and entered the double monastery at Schoenau at the age of twelve. She was professed in 1147 and became the mother superior in 1157. She died June 18, 1165. She was never formally canonized, but her name was entered in the Roman Martyrology in 1584 and has remained there. Her works consist of three books of "Visions," a revelation concerning the martyrdom of St. Ursula and her companions, and "*Liber Viarum Dei*."<sup>1</sup>

We owe the history of her revelations, not to any desire for notoriety on her part, but to the wishes of the Abbot Hildelin, who commanded her, under obedience, to relate her visions to her brother. She did so with reluctance. "Make this clear for me, so that it may be clear to every man, that I would prefer to be in obscurity. I certainly never thought that I was worthy to have anyone raise his eyes to look at me. It grieves me not a little that the Abbot wishes my words to be committed to writing. For what am I that the facts about me should be handed down to posterity?" Although her written life is so entirely taken up with her visions that it is somewhat difficult to obtain a clear picture of the visionary herself, still, passages like this show us a humble, childlike, Christian soul. Elizabeth was burdened with almost unceasing illness. She says, "I, the least of

<sup>1</sup> Selections from these works are to be found in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 195. The quotations in this article are translations from this edition.

God's poor ones, thank Him that the hand of the Lord has been so upon me that I have never failed to carry His arrows within my body." She often was mentally depressed and despondent, once even to the extent of contemplating suicide. "I went about in sorrow, in darkness of mind, nor was I able to shake the sadness from my spirit. As this evil sadness increased, my mind became so darkened that, wherever I turned, I seemed to walk in darkness. I was oppressed with so great weariness that there was nothing which my mind did not loathe. Prayer itself, my chief joy, became a burden to me. The enemy made me waver even in my faith, so that I thought with doubt even concerning our Redeemer. At last the perfidious one instilled even this thought in me, that I should end my life." But she was brought through this dark night of the soul, and her narrative of the incident ends in a burst of praise. "How rich art Thou in mercy, O Lord, Who rescuest from such great dangers those who trust in Thee." Yet in spite of the periods of mental depression and almost constant illness, she seems to have been a beloved mother to the nuns of the convent. The genuine sorrow of the sisters during her last illness, the devotion of the sister who supported her when she was too weak to sit up unaided, the overpowering grief of her brother at her death, all indicate a character simple and lovable and, in some measure at least, joyous.

Like that great mystic of a later age, St. Catherine of Sienna, Elizabeth had a passion for social righteousness, and a deep sense of the sin of the world. At her urging the Abbot Hildelin went forth and preached to the people, exhorting them to penitence and announcing the approaching wrath of God. This preaching excursion brought Elizabeth into disrepute among some of the people, for it was said that she had prophesied the date of the end of the world. In a letter to St. Hildegard of Bingen she denies the accusation and gives an account of the visions which had preceded the Abbot's preaching. "The Abbot instructed me to pray

and ask the Lord to permit me to know whether He wished the things I had spoken to be kept in silence or not. On the feast of St. Barbara I was caught up into an ecstasy and the angel of the Lord stood before me and said, 'Shout forth and say, "Woe be to all nations, for all the world has turned to darkness." And say also, "Do penance, for the kingdom of God is at hand."' Therefore, led by his instruction, the Abbot began to divulge these matters to the rulers of the church. The preaching of the Abbot was so successful that an angel announced to Elizabeth that the anger of the Lord was turned away by the penitence of the people.

The contents of Elizabeth's visions form an interesting chapter in the literature of Mysticism. Like so many of the mystics, she felt herself tormented by appearances of Satan. He appeared to her sometimes as a bull, sometimes as a dog, and once as a dwarf, with flaming tongue, fiery countenance, and talon-like hands and feet. Usually the appearances distressed her, but in one rather amusing instance she felt quite sure that the appearance was sent to point a lesson in practical morality. "One day I was looking out the window. There was a man standing in the street and he called out to his companion, 'Why the devil are you so slow?' And at once I saw Satan, in the form of a black and deformed bull, standing right behind him. By which thing the faithful should take warning to abstain from evil expressions of this sort."

But for the most part her visions were of far more pleasant characters. At least every Saturday the Blessed Virgin appeared to her. She thus describes the first vision of this sort, which took place in 1152. "When the mass of our most blessed Lady began I was caught up into an ecstasy. And my heart was opened and I saw above me a large circle of great light, like the full moon, but about twice as large. And I looked in through the midst of the circle, and saw the likeness of a queenly woman, standing on high, clad in most brilliant vestments and a purple cloak. At once I knew this

was the Queen of Heaven, a glimpse of whom I had ever desired. And as I yearned towards her with great desire, she prostrated herself thrice, adoring the Divine Light, Who was before her. Then she seemed to lie prostrate for a long time. As she arose she turned her face to me and came a little way into the lower air opposite me. And my Lady, standing there, made the sign of the cross over me, and put these words in my mind, I know not how, 'Fear not, for these things will not hurt you at all. 'I did not hear the sound of a voice, but distinctly saw the movement of her lips. After this she returned into the inner part of the light.'" At mass Elizabeth always saw a dove descend from heaven and perch upon the altar. Sometimes it flew about the head of the celebrant, and once, at the consecration, it dipped its head into the chalice. She saw the vision only with the eyes of the soul. With charming frankness she tells us that the dove disappeared when she opened her bodily eyes and looked at the altar.

On each festival of the church calendar she saw the saint in whose honor the feast was kept. Here is her account of her vision on the feast of Ss. Peter and Paul. "On the feast of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul I was caught up into an ecstasy, and I saw those great and glorious princes, in a great and splendid light, standing adorned with the signs of their glorious martyrdom. Turning their faces towards me, they descended into the region of this air of ours, preceded by the most blessed Virgin. Then Peter stood and made the sign of the cross over me." On the feast of All Saints, that feast particularly dear to the mystic, she tells us that she saw "a greater multitude of saints than ever before."

These visions of the saints may seem rather monotonous, and the saints themselves rather conventional in both attire and conversation, but the visions certainly gave Elizabeth a lively faith in the Communion of Saints. She was delightfully at ease with the inhabitants of heaven. If she wanted information from them she had no hesitancy in asking for it.

When two of the saints appeared during one of her ecstasies with their backs towards her, she asked them to turn around so that she could see who they were, and was overjoyed and not at all embarrassed when they complied with her request and she beheld St. John and St. Paul.

A few times she had a vision of the Blessed Trinity. "I saw the Glory of Supreme Majesty, Whom I cannot describe at all, around Whose throne was a splendid rainbow. At the right of that Majesty I saw One like the Son of Man, seated in highest glory. At His left hand appeared the cross, most gloriously radiant. And while I gazed upon all this with trembling heart, the Lord deigned to show to me, a most unworthy sinner, the glory of His Ineffable Trinity, in a way which I cannot and dare not explain, how there is one Divinity in three Persons and three Persons are one divine substance." Elizabeth like all the mystics, was unable to put in words her vision of the Godhead. In this she satisfies the test of Dionysius: "If any one, seeing God, knows what he sees, it is by no means God that he sees, but something created and knowable." Even St. Teresa, who succeeded perhaps better than any other mystic in describing her visions, found it impossible to relate clearly her vision of the Trinity. "I saw clearly that the Persons are distinct . . . only I saw nothing and heard nothing. But there is a strange certainty about it, though the eyes of the soul see nothing; and when the presence is withdrawn that withdrawal is felt. . . . Though the Persons are distinct in a strange way, the soul knows One only God."<sup>2</sup> The vision of the Trinity was given to Elizabeth only a few times, and then was withdrawn, to be given once more as her death drew near.

During Holy Week Elizabeth saw, in her ecstasies, the scenes of that last week in Jerusalem. It is interesting to note that the visions of the mystics who have seen these events do not agree as to historical details. For example,

<sup>2</sup> David Lewis, Trans., *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus*, London, 1916, pp. 486-487.



St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, Catherine Emmerich, and others beheld Jesus nailed to the cross with three nails, while St. Bridget distinctly saw four. There is also a difference as to whether the cross was set up before or after the crucifixion, and on other details. Does this show that these visions were entirely imaginary, and had no higher source than the mind of the visionary? It is, of course, impossible to prove the supernatural character of any mystic experience, but inaccuracy of historical details in a vision cannot be said to be an entirely satisfactory proof of its mundane origin. It is conceivable that God has a nobler purpose in sending visions than to satisfy a desire for historical knowledge without the study of history. If His aim is to arouse in the soul a love of Jesus, differences of detail are easily explained. A vision has fulfilled a good purpose if it arouses the soul to say with Elizabeth, "Thus hung His lifeless body, pitiable above all pitiable objects that human eye hath seen. O how great was the grief of my soul when I beheld such sufferings of that Man, most good, and alone entirely innocent, Who freely bore all, not for Himself, but for our sakes."

But the visions of Elizabeth concerning St. Ursula and her companions seem to have been the products of her own imagination. The bones of these martyrs had just been discovered (1156). Some of the bones were brought to Elizabeth, and she was sure that she received a supernatural revelation concerning the names and lives of those to whom the bones had belonged. She was urged on by her directors to ask the angel who usually brought her revelations and the saints for further information. The history which she received in answer to these requests is full of exaggerations and anachronisms, and from it the later Ursula legends are derived. Here we have a case where the revelations are not unhistorical in a few unimportant details, but are historically false throughout. They give us an instructive example of the dangerous possibility of self-deception in the mystic state. Elizabeth by no means is the only mystic who has believed herself the

recipient of heavenly information which has proved to be utterly false. The writings of St. Hildegarde, a contemporary of Elizabeth, are full of scientific errors, and exactly the sort of errors that were prevalent in the twelfth century. Mary of Agreda thought that God revealed to her that the sky was made of crystal. She also had a vision telling her that the six days of Creation were each of exactly twenty-four hours' duration. In all these cases there was absolute certainty in the mind of the mystic that the revelation was from God, and was historically accurate. Elizabeth says of her visions, "The angel of the Lord appeared to me and told me to send these words to the Bishops of Treves, Cologne, and Mayence, 'Let it be known to you from the Lord God, great and tremendous, and from the angel of this book, that these words which you find in this present book, you shall announce to the Roman Church, and to all the people and to all the Church of God. Read and hear the divine admonitions and receive them with a quiet mind. And do not think that it is a woman's imagination, for it is not. It is from God the Father Almighty, Who is the font and origin of all goodness.'" Students of mysticism are well aware of the fact that any matter, which is supposedly revealed in a mystic vision, must be brought to objective tests like any other fact, and cannot be accepted on the authority assigned to it by the mystic, who may possibly be the victim of his own imagination.

The next of Elizabeth's works, "*Liber Viarum Dei*," is an elaborate, allegorical vision of the paths which lead to eternal blessedness. "I, Elizabeth, saw a most lofty mountain, its summit bathed in light, and three paths leading from the base to the top of it. One of them had the appearance of the sky, or of hyacinthine stone. This one was directly opposite me. The one at my right appeared green, and the one at the left purple. At the top of the mountain directly opposite the middle path stood One, clad in a hyacinthine tunic, girt about the loins with a white girdle. His face splendid as the sun, His eyes shining as the stars, His hair

like whitest wool. In His mouth He had a two-edged sword, in His right hand He held a key, and in His left a royal sceptre. Later, in another vision, I saw, further back on the mountain, other ways. One of them was pleasant, but bordered on both sides with thick bramble-bushes, so that those who walked this way would certainly be pricked by them unless they walked most carefully. There was another path, beautiful, narrow, and but little trodden, with no brambles, and beautiful with grass and flowers." In subsequent visions the angel explained the meaning of the paths. "The lofty mountain is the height of celestial beatitude; the light at the summit of the mountain is the brightness of life eternal; the paths on the mountains are the ways by which the elect ascend to the kingdom of light. The hyacinthine path is the way of divine contemplation. . . . The green path is that of those who in the active life seek to be perfect and blameless, walking in the commandments of God. . . . The purple path is that of the blessed martyrs. . . . The One at the top of the mountain is Christ. The mystery of the other paths is this. The way bordered by thorns is that of the married. This is a beautiful way, because this life was instituted in the beginning by God, and is lovely and well-pleasing in His sight, and those who walk in it without doubt ascend to the mount of God. The thorns are the cares of the world, which, of necessity, prick the wayfarers, unless they ever walk with heads bent, humbling themselves in the sight of God and man. The way beautiful with flowers is the path of the celibate." Elizabeth had further visions concerning the paths of priests, of hermits, of youths, of children, of Religious, and of other classes of society. Among other wholesome words of exhortation she received the following for prelates, "Thus saith the Lord, 'The iniquity of the world, which you hide for gold and silver, ascends before Me, as smoke from a fire. Behold the Lord Jesus, the great High Priest, exalted above all, how, in the days of His obedience, He walked in the midst of His disciples, not in

arrogance as a ruler, but in lowliness as a servant, as a pious example for His flock. Behold the blessed apostles. Were their lives like unto your lives?"

The form of these visions was doubtless influenced by the imagination and preconceived ideas of Elizabeth herself. And yet it is quite possible that God sent the visions to this humble servant of His in order that His followers might be led into more righteous paths. Certainly the visions had that effect. Her brother, in writing of her death, thus apostrophizes her. "You made known to us the glory of the citizens of heaven, and placed them, as it were, before the eyes of our minds, and not a little did your blessed prayers inflame our hearts with a desire for that Fatherland for which we wait. The words of your admonitions often strengthened wandering souls in the service of God. O how many works of piety were done, far and wide throughout the lands, because of your exhortations, since it was through you that many souls of the elect partook of desired consolation!" Even in her last illness she consented to talk to the people who flocked to see her. She urged the priests to live blamelessly and edify the people by their example, she admonished the soldiers to guard the people and aid the oppressed. She had often prayed that she might die on the day of the Passion, and the prayer was answered. On Friday, June 18, 1165, she joined the multitudes that she had so often beheld in ecstasy.

Elizabeth was not one of the great mystics. She doubtless often mistook her own imaginations for divine revelations. Her visions concerning events were often historically false. And yet it seems unlikely that God allowed His humble servant to be entirely deceived as to her visions for so many years. The decision of Amort, that the visions were almost entirely imaginary, seems too harsh. Certainly her visions led her to an intense realization of her communion with the saints, to a great devotion to the Passion of our Lord, and made her a force for righteousness. Supposedly supernatural

revelations must be judged by their fruits as well as by their content. It would be an interesting study to compare these fruits of the visions of St. Elizabeth of Schoenau with those of some of the psychic revelations which so engross the attention of the world today.

## THE FOLK LORE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By <sup>2</sup>HERBERT H. GOWEN, University of Washington, Seattle

Some years ago I incurred some mild censure from an ecclesiastical superior for writing that "the Myth is part of that Divine Word, begotten before all time, to be in time manifested to the world." I see no reason now to change the expression of more than thirty years ago. It is fairly generally recognized to-day that "myth is definitely and distinctly not fiction. It is always the covering, the shell, to a kernel of truth contained inside." It has also become recognized that "folk tales are the myths of the race."

The criticism by means of which the conception of Old Testament authorship has been extended to sources far beyond and behind the personages to which many of the individual books have been traditionally assigned has rendered immense service to the cause of Christian truth. While not a few timid souls were seriously concerned lest, in denying the attribution of particular books to one author, such as Moses, the roots of the doctrine of Biblical inspiration were being tampered with and cut, men in general have been learning how deep those roots descended into the very earliest attempts of man to stammer out the expression of his spiritual needs and hopes. The "prophets" through whom God spake "at sundry times and in divers manners" to the fathers of old are now seen to include not merely the outstanding saints and sages of the Old Testament, such as Isaiah and Ezekiel, but also those unnamed and unknown ancestors to whom we owe the very first babblings of human emotion.

Such a conception of the relation of the Spirit of God to the spirit of man is not unlike that to which we arrive through



the closer study of the physical universe. If therefore we can feel ourselves in the presence of a Nature which is "full of eyes," prophetic of creative purpose, present with us though we "be made secretly and fashioned beneath in the earth," how much more may we not rejoice to discern a most wonderful "*præparatio evangelica*" in regions of literature remoter than we have ever yet been called upon to explore! If Thor at Jötunheim, trying to drain the drinking-horn of the giants, found himself drawing upon the vastness of the unsounded seas, is it not true that we, seeking to fathom the depths of divine revelation, find the witness of Israel but one element among many in that witness which goes backward and ever backward to the first utterance through human lips of the God

"From Whom all being emanates, all power proceeds;  
In Whom is life forevermore, yet Whom  
Existence in its lowest form includes. . . .  
Thus He dwells in all  
From life's minute beginnings, up at last  
To man."

It is this continuous "*parousia*" of the Spirit of God, in every utterance of man which spiritual needs have elicited, which establishes the real comprehensiveness of the O. T. message and its preparation for what the New Testament has to supply by way of consummation. Yet, strangely enough, many who have applied the 'new learning' to the discussion of O. T. problems have not only forgotten this stimulating lesson but have even feared lest in sinking the shaft of O. T. exploration deeper than the Jew they might be entering strata from which the "moving" of the Spirit had been deliberately excluded.

The fault is not merely with the literary critic, the historian, the philologist, or the anthropologist. These may even be excused if in their investigation of materials under their hand they do no more than state results in terms of their own science. The fault lies much more at the door of the theolo-

gian and the exegete who have so signally failed to perceive that light on history or anthropology is also necessarily light upon the redemptive purpose of God.

It seems to me that in the days, not so long ago, when no folk lore was recognized in the O. T. Scriptures, but only the writings of the preternaturally endowed supermen of the Jewish Church, acting consciously as the penmen of God, the O. T. was to that extent the O. T. but incompletely. To-day therefore when a writer like Sir James Frazer gives us three large volumes, full of interesting illustrations of O. T. folk lore, it may well be a subject for felicitation. We may well be grateful for the demonstration that the O. T. does in very fact bridge the gap which separates an Isaiah, with his vision of the Suffering Servant, from a Caliban, sprawling in the cool slush and trying to piece together his conception of Setebos. It would seem all gain to know that Caliban's theology has hold of one end of the thread which never breaks but leads at last to sacramental fellowship with God as revealed in Christ. It would seem an immense aid to faith to discover that the complexity and far-reachingness of those customs of ours which crop out in the play of children, in the half-conscious habits of primitive men, in human superstitions divorced from old beliefs, are indeed parts of that Logos which, as S. Clement of Alexandria recognized, guided Gentile as well as Jew out of the thick darkness and into the light.

It should be said at once that Sir James Frazer is by no means blind to the value of the upper strata of O. T. literature because primarily engaged with those which lie beneath. Indeed, while many Bible interpreters, like those commentators on Aristotle satirized by Swift in "Gulliver's Travels," betray shocking unfamiliarity with the master they profess to explain, Sir James, as becomes one who has (he tells us) studied the whole of the O. T. in the Hebrew and is proud to describe himself a disciple of William Robertson Smith, is commonly an excellent guide. He speaks enthusiastically

of "the psalmists who poured forth their sweet and solemn strains of meditative piety in the solitude of the hills, or in green pastures, and beside still waters; prophets who lit up their beatific visions of a blissful future with the glow of an impassioned imagination; historians who bequeathed to distant ages the scenes of a remote past embalmed for ever in the amber of a pellucid style."

After this, it is perhaps a little unfortunate that the author should seem to treat his folk lore illustrations as mainly a "foil" against which to contrast the higher glory. I would rather he had emphasized the organic unity of the whole human story, from beginning to end, with the lower stages interestedly prophetic of those yet to come. Of course, even where the adult is but the child grown to fulness of stature, it may still be possible to think of childish appetites and passions by way of antithesis. So it is not absolutely necessary to quarrel with the anthropologist's attitude. Yet to me it seems it would have been more helpful had the author, in establishing the continuity of belief and custom from the primitive man up to the story of the Jew, also at least suggested the possibility of still further extension of this continuity such as, spiritually interpreted, would bring us to an appreciation of the significance of Christian doctrine.

It is this further significance of O. T. lore, intermediated as it is by Judaism, that I desire to emphasize in the present paper.

First, I must make some general observations on these volumes of Frazer which I do not intend to be taken strictly as criticism. They are rather for the purpose of discriminating between the different categories of material.

It is, of course, obvious that this material as related to O. T. studies, is not all of equal value.

Sometimes the author appears to have used the O. T. story as a kind of "jumping-off place" for his investigation of ethnic customs and beliefs, and occasionally his stepping-stone is precariously chosen. For example, when he cites

the story of Elijah and the Ravens, it is rather a stretch of fancy to associate the birds with the prophet because the raven was sacred to Apollo and endowed with prophetic power, or because of the esteem in which it was held by the Lilloet Indians of British Columbia, or because of those sagacious birds which, according to Pliny, acclaimed Tiberius and his two sons Drusus and Germanicus. Surely it is far better to take the word ערבים as "Arabians" rather than "Ravens," especially if the prophet's hiding place was at Rehoboth in the extreme south of Palestine. In Jer. iii 2 the word ערבי is undoubtedly "an Arab," not "a raven," and is so translated both in A. V. and in R. V.

Sometimes, too, Sir James Frazer seems to display a certain lack of sense of proportion, as witness the 257 pages devoted to "The Great Flood," or the 277 pages to "Jacob's Marriage," as contrasted with the 2 pages to "The Judgment of Solomon" and the 2 pages to "Jonah and the Whale." The disparity of treatment is only in part to be accounted for by difference in the amount of available material.

In some sections of the work, again, some good parallels or illustrations have been missed. For example, in the chapter on "Boring a Servant's Ear," which is interpreted as "an old magical rite which was thought to give a master as firm a hold on his man and on his beast, as if he had actually held both of them by the ear," it would have been natural to quote the 282d paragraph of the "Code of Hammurabi:" "If a male slave say to his master: 'Thou art not my master,' his master shall prove him to be his slave and shall cut off his ear."

Of course, the Hebrew parallel shows the slave as voluntarily accepting his servitude by submitting to the rite, but the reference in both cases is to the same custom. By the way, I saw recently the copy of a Mexican sculpture in which is a worshipper in the very act of piercing his ears before his god, with the blood-drops falling most realistically to the ground. In this way the devotee was confessing himself his divinity's bondsman.

In one or two instances I should feel bound to take issue with the author's interpretation of his material. Thus, when (Vol. I, p. 99) he writes: "Elsewhere I have conjectured that mourning in general was originally a disguise adopted to protect the surviving relatives from the dreaded ghost of the recently departed," and when (Vol. III, p. 235) he writes: "We can hardly doubt that the similar practice of the Nicobarese, who smash a dead man's goods and cut through the prop on which his house rests, is similarly designed to make his old home unattractive to the ghost and so to relieve the survivors from his unwelcome visits," he is on an entirely wrong track so far as the interpretation of mourning customs is concerned. It is surely demonstrable that the putting on of the mourning garments was but the necessary sequel of giving up one's former (and better) clothing to the dead. In some very primitive communities, for the same reason, clothing was abandoned altogether during the period of mourning. In like manner, the abandonment of the house and abstinence from food were sequels to the consigning of dwelling and provender alike to the greedy ghost. This destruction, together with the slaughter of animals, slaves and wives, and the breaking of the domestic utensils, was but the "dematerializing" of certain things which were supposed to be needed in the underworld. So Periander burned the clothes of the Corinthian ladies to provide garments for his departed spouse; so the Manchu chief Nurhachu burned the document of "The Seven Hates" to place it on file with the ancestors.

These criticisms, if such they be regarded, are, however, insignificant in view of the greater part of the volumes, and, on the other hand, the interest of the whole is of the most varied kind.

Sometimes it is an interest which appeals to the student of comparative literature even more than to the student of folk lore, as in the case of the one parallel to the story of "Moses in the Bulrushes," the case of "Jonah and the Whale," or that of "The Crossing of the Red Sea."



Sometimes the interest gathers around the relation which must be assumed between Hebrew literature and that of the Euphrates Valley, as in the voluminous recital of legends of "The Great Flood."

Sometimes, again, the interest arises from the light which is, perhaps only incidentally, thrown upon primitive systems of jurisprudence, as in the chapters on "Ultimogeniture," "The Boring of a Servant's Ear," "The Poison Ordeal," and "The Ox that Gored." The discussion of "Ultimogeniture," explaining certain incidents in the story of the patriarchs on the theory that in ancient times the younger son inherited rather than the elder, because presumably less likely to have formed his separate establishment, is extremely valuable and casts an interesting light on the Gospel principle, "The last shall be first."

Sometimes, again, the interest springs from the light shed upon the life history of old religious customs and beliefs. Some of these may be grouped as follows:

1. The Fear of the Dead, illustrated by such sections as "The Silent Widow" and "Cuttings for the Dead."

2. The Fear of the spirits of Air and Water, as suggested in such chapters as "Jacob at the Ford" (perhaps on somewhat doubtful grounds) and "The Golden Bells."

3. Control by the use of Sympathetic Magic, as in "Seething a Kid in his mother's milk," where the prohibition is maintained for the "protection of cattle, and more especially of cows, against the harm which, on the principle of sympathetic magic, may be done them by the abuse or misapplication of their milk, whether that abuse consists in the boiling of the milk, in the bringing of it into contact with alien substances, or in the drinking of it by persons whose condition is supposed to be, for one reason or another, fraught with danger to the herds."

4. The localization of divinity, as in "Sacred Trees," "The Use of High Places," or, in the case of the sacred land itself, "Jehovah and the Lions."



5. The Use of Divination, *e.g.*, hydromantia, as in "Gideon and his Men." Not one of these articles is without that higher interest, moreover, which transcends the merely antiquarian and anthropological. For instance, in "The Sin of a Census" we are put upon a trail which, beginning in the superstitious fear of numbering men, cattle or fish, leads step by step to that spiritual distrust of the statistical which has, as its constructive side, the faith that "one with God is always a majority."

Beyond all these, however, which have been hitherto mentioned, there are some instances in which I am fain to carry the discussion further than the limits Sir James Frazer has imposed upon himself. Their interest as folk lore is, after all, I feel, subordinate to their importance as elements in the evolution of an universal religion.

In this paper I can only make a small selection, and I choose the three articles: "The Bundle of Life," "The Covenant of Abraham," and "Jacob and the Kidskins."

"*The Bundle of Life.*"—Eastern folk lore is full of stories founded upon a belief in the "Bundle of Life," as Frazer calls it, or, as other anthropologists describe it, the belief in a detachable or external soul. Perhaps Sir James might have given many more pertinent parallels from the folk lore of India and the Far East than those which he has assembled from the beliefs of Eskimo and the Aruntas of Central Australia. He might also have adduced the widely prevalent belief, as among the Ainus, in the soul of the new born infant as placed under the guardianship of an *ino*, or personal totem of lilac or willow wood, placed upon the hearth. Possibly also there might have been included a reference to the Druidic belief that the mistletoe was "the soul of the oak" which could be saved by cutting with a golden knife.

The idea in the stories generally is that to save an individual from death some fairy or divinity may detach his soul and hide it, perhaps in a bird's nest at the top of a tree, perhaps in a cavern of the sea. In an old Serbian story a dragon

keeps his soul in a pigeon. In a Celtic story a giant hides his soul in an egg in the body of a duck. In another the soul is concealed in a tiny thorn of blackthorn. In a story from India an ogre's soul is kept in a pat of butter concealed under a great glacier. And so on. Whatever the object may be in which the soul is hid, whether the Ainu *ino* or the *churinga* of Central Australia, there is the "bundle of life," the *צֶרֶר חַיִּים*.

No wonder wizards used their most powerful spells to seek out and ensnare these souls placed thus in the security of superhuman protection, using nets and fillets and kerchiefs to catch them as one might catch butterflies.

It is evident, according to Frazer, that both these beliefs, viz:—that in a soul laid up for safety in the sanctuary, and that in the power of wizards to hunt and entrap, are implicit in the story of Abigail and David contained in I Sam. xxv. The grateful wife of that inhospitable churl Nabal recognizes that the pursuit of David by his enemies resembles nothing so much as the hunt for souls which formed so large a part of primitive wizardry and she was no doubt acquainted with some of the measures taken to preserve the soul. If the "*houses of the soul*" (*בתי הנפש*), mentioned in Is. iii 20, A. V. "*tablets*," R. V. "*perfume boxes*," as among the ornaments of the fashionable ladies of Jerusalem were really amulets in which the soul was supposed to lodge, Abigail may very well have witnessed in her own attire to the need of guarding against the capture of one's soul by wizardry. In a much later age the prophet Ezekiel had occasion to write: "And thou, son of man, set thy face against the daughters of thy people, which prophesy out of their own heart; and prophesy thou against them and say: Thus saith the Lord God: Woe to the women that sew fillets upon all elbows and make kerchiefs for the heads of persons of every stature to hunt souls. Will ye hunt the souls of my people and save souls alive for yourselves? And ye have profaned Me among My people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that

should not live, by your lying to My people that hearken unto lies. Wherefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against your fillets, wherewith ye hunt the souls and I will tear them from your arms and I will let the souls which ye hunt go free like birds. Your kerchiefs also will I tear and deliver My people out of your hand and they shall be no more in your hand to be hunted; and ye shall know that I am the Lord." (Ez. xiii 17-21.)

In David's case, thinks Abigail, God has done more than tear the soul of the fugitive from the hands of his enemies. He had deposited that soul in a safe place where no hand but His could touch it. This is the meaning of the otherwise enigmatic words: "Though man be risen up to pursue thee, and to seek thy soul, yet the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord, thy God; and the soul of thine enemies, them shall He sling out, as from the hollow of a sling."

It is indeed interesting to take our stand at this familiar Bible incident and trace back the associations which cling, one behind the other, to the little bit of folk lore superstition which the words of Abigail suggest. But it is infinitely more interesting, though this was beyond Frazer's purpose, to carry on the suggestion of that same piece of folk lore, through the inspired medium of the O. T. narrative, till we find it proclaiming truths of which neither Abigail nor her many predecessors had ever caught a glimpse. It may seem to be but a foolish piece of primitive superstition to suppose that, by some process of magic, one's soul could be hidden in the cleft of a stick out of the reach of some powerful enemy, under the aegis of some protecting numen, but the foolishness disappears when we are able to recognize the belief as one stage of the way whereby the Spirit of God taught the primitive man of that security to be revealed in the fulness of time when, in the secret place of the Divine Tabernacle, the soul should lie hidden from the pursuit of every foe. If at the one end of the evolutionary process we perceive the

barbarian's dependence upon his *churinga*, at the other end we are enabled to understand the force of S. Paul's assurance to the Colossians: "For ye died, but your life has been hid (*κέκρυπται*) with Christ in God."

"*Cutting a Covenant.*"—In Gen. xv we have a singularly impressive description of the establishment of a binding covenant between Jahveh and Abram. The patriarch is ordered to take a heifer, a she-goat, a ram, a turtledove and a pigeon and to divide the three former sacrifices in the midst, placing half over against half. "And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace and a flaming torch that passed between these pieces." Thus the covenant was made which assured the future of Abram and his seed.

The folk lore interest of the story lies in the reference to the curious detail of the covenant ratification which consists in the dividing of the bodies of the sacrificial victims and the passing between the sundered parts. This custom is implicit in the language itself. To "make a covenant" is literally "to cut a covenant" (*כרת ברית*) and we find the idea still more deep seated in the fact that the word *ברית*, "Covenant," is itself derived from a word signifying "to cut" or "to carve." The passage may be compared with Jer. xxxiv 18: "When they cut the calf in twain and passed between the parts thereof."

It is, of course, easy to find illustrations of this custom outside the range of Hebrew literature. In ancient Greece the method was adopted in the matter of taking oaths and the phrase "*ὄρκια τέμνειν*" (cf. Il. ii, 124, Od. xxiv, 483) corresponds almost exactly with *כרת ברית*. It will be remembered that when Agamemnon was about to lead the Greeks to Troy Calchas divided the body of a boar and, placing one half the carcase on the right and the other on the left, made the soldiers pass between the pieces in witness to their loyalty to the cause. So too the Scythians are described as appealing for the support of their friends by slaying an ox, cutting up

the flesh, and sitting amid the pieces upon the reeking hide. Similar illustrations are drawn from the customs of the Nandi in Africa in the matter of the divided dog, the Arabs of Moab who, in time of plague, pass through the divided body of a sheep, and many other tribes.

Frazer considers with fairness the two theories which have been urged in explanation of this singular custom, viz., the retributive theory, "May you be killed as this beast was killed!" and the sacramental or protective theory, whereby a man seemed to enter into the sheltering grace of an accepted sacrifice.

But he rightly perceives that the former theory does not account for some of the most salient features of the custom. He quotes Robertson Smith pertinently to the effect that "the parties stood between the pieces, as a symbol that they were taken within the mystical life of the victim." Dr. Smith supposed "that the persons who stood or passed between the pieces of the victim were thought to be thereby united with the animal and with each other by the bond of a common blood; in fact, he held that such a covenant is only a variant of the wide spread custom known as the blood covenant, in which the covenanters artificially create a tie of consanguinity between themselves by actually mixing a little of their own blood."

This idea is supported by illustrations gathered from regions as far apart as Patagonia and Central Asia. With the Patagonian custom of slaying a horse and placing in the still quivering body a new born child may be compared with the account given in the Indian "Ramayana" in which the Açvamedha, performed to secure progeny to Dasaratha, includes the placing of the queen within the warm carcase of the slaughtered horse.

But Sir James Frazer has no lack of illustration to prove his point, which is that, if the slaying of the sacrifice had something of a retributive character, the passing of the covenanters into the very body of the sacrifice, or at least between the

sundered parts, was intended to reveal the possibility of their entering sacramentally into the merit of the offering, and of their becoming part and parcel of the life which had been accepted of God.

My own purpose is to extend this thought by reference to the light cast by this particular piece of folk lore upon the development of Christian doctrine.

We do not always sufficiently reflect upon the implications locked up in the familiar phrases of some of our devotional expressions. When, for example, we sing:

or                   "Rock of Ages, cleft for me,  
                      Let me hide myself in Thee."

or                   "Let me evermore abide  
                      Hidden in Thy wounded side."

or                   "Hide us in Thy dear heart,  
                      Jesus, our Savior blest."

we might be rightly shocked at the grossness and materialism of the thought if we conceived only of the lines as dragging us back to the old days of "cutting covenants" and "foundation sacrifices." Such a hymn as

                      "There is a fountain filled with blood  
                      Drawn from Emmanuel's veins."

must be repulsive indeed to those who could only think of taurobolia and criobolia.

But when we feel the significance of the language as linking our own poor efforts to realize the fellowship of the Divine life through Christ with all the efforts that men have ever made since the world began, we get the sense of catholicity in spiritual struggle on an even more extended scale than when we join our Christian devotions with the ancient hymns of Jewry in the Psalter.

Building on the concrete and the material, we find the edifice of faith rising with us into heaven itself. As in the beautiful symbolism of the Creeds we have images suggested



which lift faith infinitely up to God, so here we have put into our hands an Ariadne thread which will lead us out of every labyrinth into the light. Caliban, however far away, is found to be facing Calvary, and his attitude is towards that victorious life to which the Cross affords the key. Hence I like to think that when Abram "cut" his covenant with God he, as father of the faithful, was stretching out one hand to the primitive savage who, through all manner of bloody and barbaric rites, sought to find a way out of weakness and sin into a purer and securer life, and, at the same time, was reaching out a hand to us who are learning, however slowly, what it means to be hidden in the wounded side of Christ.

"*The Skin of the Sacrifice.*"—Closely allied in significance with the above mentioned piece of folk lore we have the curious practice on the part of the sacrificer of clothing himself with the skin of the sacrificial animal.

Frazer describes this in connection with the ruse whereby Jacob deceived his father in order to possess himself of the privilege of the first born, putting the skin of the kids of the goats upon his hands and upon the smooth of his neck. "I conjecture," he says, "that the story embodies a reminiscence of an ancient ceremony which in later times, when primogeniture had generally displaced ultimogeniture, was occasionally observed for the purpose of substituting a younger for an elder son as heir to his father."

In other words, it was the sacramental symbol of a new birth, whereby a person was "clothed upon" with the privilege derived from the all-sheltering life of the sacrificed beast, a beast which, in the beginning, had something of a totemistic or clan significance. The conjecture is fortified by illustrations drawn together with the writer's usual comprehensiveness of survey. The ritual of the sacrificial skin is expounded from the customs of the Gallas and other kindred tribes of Africa, where the ceremony of adoption includes the covering of the child's hands with a portion of

the skin of the ox sacrificed on the occasion; from those of other tribes where it is customary to wear, for a similar symbolic reason, rings or bracelets made from the skin of the sacrificial goat. After enumerating many like customs, Frazer adds: "On a general survey of the foregoing customs, we may conclude that the intention of investing a person with a portion of a sacrificial skin is to protect him against some actual or threatened evil, so that the skin serves the purpose of an amulet."

And again: "Like the rite of passing between the pieces of a slaughtered animal, the act of passing through a ring of the hide may perhaps be interpreted as an abridged form of entering into the victim's body in order to be identified with it and so to enjoy the protection of its sacred character."

I feel that a still broader base might have been established for the clothing of a man with the sacrificial skin, and that from thence certain deductions might have been drawn which bear most appositively upon our present apprehension of Christian doctrine.

May we not go back from the story of Jacob's subtle seizure of the birthright to the story of the expulsion of our first parents from Eden? May not the older commentators, with little or no knowledge of comparative folk lore, have been right in seeing in Gen. iii 21: "Unto Adam also and his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them," a fore-shadowing of the all-availing sacrifice which introduces man into the shelter of Almighty Love? Dr. Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, pp. 435 ff.) points out the several remarkable ways in which the skin of the sacrosanct victim plays the chief part. In antique rituals it was used "to clothe the idol or to clothe the worshippers." In days when dress was particularly a part of social religion "one of the few purposes for which a beast may be killed is to get its skin as a cloak." "The skin of a sacrifice is the oldest form of a sacred garment," as witness the worshippers of Dagon clothed in fish-skin, the Phoenician game sacrifice

by men clad in the pelts of their prey, the Cyprian sheep sacrifice by devotees clad in sheep-skins. It is an old saying that the light of the Cross streams backward as well as forward, and I can but find pleasure, as I note that so many of our religious terms go back to the antique rituals, in reflecting upon the infinite reach of those saving beams, in the one direction as in the other, as indicative of the all-seeing comprehension of the Gospel of Creation.

I like to think of a kind of inverted prophecy in which the Cross makes plain the significance of all the barbarity, the grotesquerie, even the foulness of the human spirit in the making.

So may we travel back along the road by which the Jew arrived at his own particular stage of the eternal pilgrimage to find at the very starting point of this stage, plainly discernible, the patient footprints of the Son of Man, life's companion on the great highway from the beginning. So may we feel that the Ainu bear-sacrifice in which the savage takes shelter in sacramental fellowship with his totem, the old Egyptian custom which clothed their kings in the skins of the sacred beasts, Hercules himself clad in the pelt of the Nemean lion, yes, all the old fairy tales which tell how heroes won the craft and courage of the beasts they envied,—form so many guide-posts, planted along life's way, such as may lead on to the knowledge of that "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," on to the assurance that "clothed in His righteousness," "accepted in the Beloved," we stand at last justified in the presence of God.

Nor is it, as some have represented the matter, a mere vicarious righteousness. Not every skin sufficed for that ample robe in which enveloped a man felt safe from the scrutiny of infinite holiness. The robe must be the skin of the living being in whose life the worshipper had life in common. The justified one must be born into a relation, not imaginary and fictitious, but real and vital. Henceforth, he is one with the life into which he has entered, partaker of

all its privileges, inheritor of its prerogatives. "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."

So the doctrine of "imputed righteousness" is no mere taking shelter in the righteousness of one who is righteous instead of us. It is that entering into the life of Him Whose righteousness is the earnest of what shall be our own when the process of justification is complete and we who are "born again" in Him, "grow up into Him in all things Who is the head." He is our "gage de la justification et du triomphe futur." God looks at us, as S. Augustine puts it "non quales sumus sed futuri sumus," but the white robes which the redeemed wear at last are the wearer's own, the fine linen "which is the righteousnesses (τὰ δικαιώματα) of the saints."

There are many other of Frazer's examples of O. T. folk lore upon which one is tempted to touch, but the above must suffice for the present paper. These used are ample for the illustration of my point that the evolution of Christian doctrine begins with the evolution of man himself. As the arts of Music and Poetry—arts ideally perfect in the Divine mind—must needs be born in lowliest guise upon the earth, in the family of Cain, to pursue through the centuries their evolution, so had it to be with the highest of all the arts, the art of realizing harmony with the Divine Will. It is no degradation of Theology to recognize this; rather is it the ennobling of the whole human story, the vindication of Christianity as the manifestation of the universal plan, a manifestation such as is fitted to express itself in the "Church Catholic throughout all the world." It is more even than this, as ordinarily conceived. It is the proclamation of the immortal destiny of man, with a vindication of all past pains and present sorrows. It helps

" . . . . to fill us with regard for man,  
With apprehension of his passing worth,  
Desire to work his proper nature out,  
And ascertain his rank and final place,  
For these things tend still upward, progress is  
The law of life, man is not man as yet.

. . . . . Oh, long ago  
The brow was twitched, the tremulous lids astir,  
The peaceful mouth disturbed; half uttered speech  
Ruffled the lip, and then the teeth were set,  
The breath drawn sharp, the strong right hand clenched stronger,  
As it would pluck a lion by the jaw;  
The glorious creature laughed out even in sleep.  
But when full roused, each giant limb awake,  
Each sinew strung, the great heart pulsing fast,  
He shall start up and stand on his own earth,  
Then shall his long, triumphant march begin."

## CRITICAL NOTES

GEN. 3:14

By H. C. ACKERMAN, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis.

The original Mosaic conception of the name of the Horeb deity has been and I suppose will be for a long time to come perhaps always, subject to theoretical explanations. I submit the following theory and the grounds upon which it may be based.

It is more reasonable to hold that the Mosaic tradition was conserved by the tribal element of Joseph in a more exact form than it was by the tribe of Judah, *i. e.*, the later Judah which arose subsequent to the Ephraim conquest. Consequently the original ideas concerning the Elohim of Horeb may be looked for with more success in the E document than in that of J or later J redactions.

Reconstructing, then, the E account in part we may read as follows:

Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, priest of Midian. And he led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to the mountain of Elohim, to Horeb. . . . Then Elohim called to him, saying, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, I am the Elohim of thy father, the Elohim of Abraham, the Elohim of Isaac, and the Elohim of Jacob, *etc.*

Then Moses said to Elohim, Behold, if I go to the Israelites and say to them, "The Elohim of your fathers hath sent me to you," and they ask me, "What is his name?" what shall I answer them? Then Elohim said to Moses, *I will become that which I will become*; and he said thus shalt thou say to the Israelites, "I will become hath sent me to you."

The original name therefore of the Horeb deity according to the Ephraim tradition was *I will become* (אֶהְיֶה). Moses had interpreted the meaning of the name of the Midianite deity, Yahweh (a name familiar to the original Jacob elements in Palestine), in terms of the verb הָיָה. Thus he read an ancient God-name with a new significance. And it was this



new prophetic interpretation which was favored by the House of Joseph which brought the tradition into the land and established it at Shiloh.

But this new reading was a prophetic interpretation and of doubtful or inexact etymological derivation. The tribes, and especially Judah who later inherited the Shiloh tradition, were loath to abandon the name Yahweh, and being prophetically upon a lower plane were less appreciative of the Mosaic interpretation. On the other hand the E school maintained its protest against the local Midianite deity by employing simply Elohim when it was unsuccessful in making the original *אֱלֹהִים* popular, or later J everywhere excised the term *אֱלֹהִים* in favor of *יהוה* or inserted Yahweh in addition to Elohim being constrained by the notion that this name had been and should remain "a memorial unto all generations" (ex. 3: 15c). However, finally, the more mature prophetic consciousness of Judah appreciated the original Mosaic interpretation enough to refrain from pronouncing Yahweh and read Adonai in its place.

That v15 is really a J element in the chapter is indicated by the redactional connection *עַרְוָה*.

If we hold that v14 is a mere redactional explanation in the narrative, still it may embody the original Mosaic reading of *יהוה* in terms of the root *יה* and is exceedingly important for reaching the genuine Mosaic contribution to the religion of the primitive Hebrews. And we should note that it was a common custom to read the meaning of a name not strictly according to its etymology but to bring out some prophetic suggestion. Cf., e.g., the reading of Israel in Gen. 32 : 28, or that of Moab in Gen. 19:37.

The religious connotation of the Mosaic idea, a connotation drawn upon from the beginning to the end of the prophetic movement in Israel, was this: the God of the Hebrews was a deity who would become phenomenally manifest—in the interest of justice or righteousness upon earth.

## A SPURIOUS JEWISH CUSTOM

By JOHN A. MAYNARD, New York City

In his book on *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, 1920, p. 104, Zwemer compares the Arabic rite of *Aqiqah* to the Jewish *Halakah*, that is of cutting the boy's hair for the first time. He says that, according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* it was also customary in Talmudic times to weigh the child, and to present the weight in coin to the poor. (The reference is to an article by A. M. Friedenberg, *Jew. Ency.*, IV, 28). Zwemer suspects the accuracy of the statement and sees in it a probable misprint for "hair of the child" (Cf. *Jew. Ency.*, VI, 158). On the authority of Friedenberg, the custom of weighing the child, as part of the *Halakah* was uncritically accepted by W. Feldman, *The Jewish Child*, 1917, p. 231. As I found no reference to it in Loew's excellent work on *Die Lebensalter in der juedischen Literatur*, I suspected an error of Friedenberg's. It became then evident that he had misinterpreted a statement made by S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 1896, p. 302. There, we are told that the mother of Doegben Joseph weighed her son daily and gave to the poor the increase of weight in gold. Schechter gave no reference, but was evidently quoting from memory *Yoma*, III, 40 fol. 38 b. (Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud*, II, 860) where we find that story; note that the money was, according to the Talmud, given to the Temple. We are told in a Midrash that this devoted mother ate that very same child during the siege of Jerusalem. The weighing of a child, and the giving of increased weight in gold, was evidently an exceptional case, as much as the terrible straits in which that mother found herself later. It is interesting to see the genesis of Friedenberg's unguarded statement. Let us hope that the spurious tradition thus created will be allowed to die a natural death.

## REVIEWS

*A History of Penance, being a Study of the Authorities (A) For the whole Church to A.D. 450 (Vol. I, pp. xxix + 496) and (B) For the Western Church from A.D. 450 to A.D. 1215. (Vol. II, pp. xix + 279). By Oscar D. Watkins, M. A., Vicar of S. Cross, Holywell, Oxford. London and New York: Longmans, 1920.*

The writer of this impressive work explains in a brief preface that the preparation of it has occupied his available time for a good many years, and it requires only a hasty survey on the part of any scholar to appreciate the indefatigable labor that has gone into its production. Students of the author's noteworthy article *Penance (Anglican)* in ERE, IX (1917) who recall his reference there to this larger work as then "in the press" will be especially interested in its perusal and will have their anticipations of its character abundantly realized. In appearance it is inviting while its form leaves nothing to be desired. Its value is primarily that of a full compilation of the sources exhibited in the original texts, the solitary exception being excerpts from the Syriac "*Didascalia Apostolorum*" in the English translation by Margaret Dunlop Gibson (London, Clay, 1903). This wealth of material, occupying about two fifths of the total space, is given in strict chronological order and apportioned as text to the thirteen chapters of the commentary—an arrangement greatly appreciated by the critical reader. Two concluding chapters, one in each volume, sum up the data and the author's judgments, condensing into fifty pages the results of the whole study.

A careful examination of these and other parts of the work which have especially interested us elicits no evidence of partisan bias, and there is nothing to suggest any ulterior or apologetic purpose. The book is exactly what it professes to be, "a study of the authorities," a work of historic research

in which theory is subordinated to fact throughout. Necessarily, where the authorities are inadequate or in seeming conflict there is room for difference of opinion as to matters of fact, *e.g.*, the conditions in a given time or place not certainly vouched for by the data available. Here if anywhere a writer's insufficiency might be expected to betray itself, and it is gratifying to observe in such cases the caution of our author. On the other hand, no one could be more positive in asserting a controverted point when convinced that he has the evidence on his side. To cite one instance in passing, he here makes good the promise given in his ERE article to show the fallacy of Bishop Schmitz's theory claiming a Roman origin for the earlier penitentials—*Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* (I. Mainz, 1883; II. Düsseldorf, 1898). The reader, with the evidence before him, will see the proof of Keltic origin. In itself the point would appear to be one of minor importance; but it has a bearing on the moral conditions of the period which invests it with real significance.

This leads us to remark on the great outstanding fact, familiar enough to all students of the subject, which appears in any consideration of the history of the penitential discipline of the Church, namely, its amazing variety and complexity. Both in the scope of Penance and in the methods of applying it this feature is prominent. The contrasts of theory and practice in different periods and stages of culture will readily suggest themselves, though it requires such a detailed examination of the data as the present work supplies to exhibit them in their true proportions. What is yet more remarkable is the variety to be found in one and the same period and even in the same locality. We are not now referring to the opposition between Novatianism and the Catholicism of the third century, but to that between Constantinople and the neighboring Asian provinces in the fourth, one of numerous instances illustrating the competition of different views, rigorism, moderation, and laxism, and their appropriate

expressions in forms of penitential discipline. To a certain extent, also, the social conditions account for the divergence. It is one merit of the treatment here under review that this connection is never obscured and sometimes forcibly emphasized. The problem has always been how to adapt the Church's discipline to the specific requirements of the time, in the early days to a society but lately converted from paganism and only in part emancipated from the influence of a surviving pagan environment. That the Church now and again met with only indifferent success in finding and applying the proper solution of this problem need occasion no surprise. At times, indeed, through obstinate adherence to outworn methods or in the presence of difficulties beyond her power to cope with, her penitential system has quite broken down and the multitudes have been left to shift for themselves. Yet never in all these vicissitudes has she abandoned her divine commission, or lost faith in the absolving power of her ministry. Amid all diversities of theory and practice—and even revolutionary changes in the latter—this central and vital point of agreement has persisted, finally crystallizing itself in the disciplinary rule of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215 A.D., which in all essentials is the present system of the Latin Church. With the merits or demerits of that rule the writer of this history has no concern. His task has been fully accomplished in tracing the development to this point.

We have indicated in a general way our estimate of the manner in which the task has been performed. It is a work in the field of history and morals which will appeal to various groups of scholars, and to a much wider constituency. In particular, it should serve a useful purpose in enlightening the rank and file of our own Anglican clergy who have much to learn from it. As to some possible points of application, two or three instances come to mind. It may be a far cry from modern conditions in America or England to the Antioch and Constantinople of the fourth century, or to

southeastern France of the sixth, but men like John Chrysostom and Cæsarius of Arles have a message to deliver that bears directly on our present concerns. Each is a faithful witness to the particular conditions of his own environment, and, besides being a respected authority, represents in his teaching more than the view of a solitary individual, while for Catholic temper and loyalty neither has been surpassed. Both were remarkable as popular preachers and trusted guides in the spiritual life, both had to deal with social and religious conditions in many respects similar to our own, both produced treatises on Penance and the power of the keys, one of them was a pronounced rigorist in the matter of fasting communion, and the other the most eminent coenobite of his generation and one of the great lights of monasticism. These men agree in teaching that a life of real amendment, characterized by active and devout participation in the Church's worship, and by almsgiving, fasting, and prayer, is the sufficient remedy for sin, as manifesting a true contrition. In other words, what these great teachers recommended as the normal procedure for lay-people was a private and self-imposed penance which never came under Church cognizance at all. If one objects that the problem with which these authorities had to deal was to find a middle course between rigorism and laxism, both of which had failed, he may be reminded that this is practically our situation at the present day. And in this connection—to pass to the Spain of the seventh century (IV Conc. Toledo, A. D. 633) and to a similar usage in the Diocese of Milan,—the service of *Indulgentia* has a peculiar interest. Beginning at 3 p.m. on Good Friday the whole congregation, assuming the role of penitents, put up the oft-repeated petition for pardon and were answered by the precatory absolution by the Bishop, "Exaudi, Domine," etc.—the first of the prayers in the Penitential Office (or "A Commination") in the Book of Common Prayer. It was understood that those who took part in this service might worthily approach the Holy



Eucharist on Easter Day. In some quarters to-day there is pointed insistence on the inadequacy of our General Confession and Absolution, this disparagement apparently being regarded as enhancing the value of private confession as alone and properly sacramental. With no desire whatever to undervalue the latter, or to deny it its rightful place, we may yet confidently assert that it is not to be exalted by such questionable means. There is a real penance of the congregation in which under our present system every member of the Church is encouraged and expected to participate and upon the efficacy of which he is bidden to rely. That this is no invention of Protestant laxity is a point worth bearing in mind, and the fact that it has Catholic precedent is one of several elements contributing to Anglican apologetic which are incidentally supplied by this admirable and scholarly treatise.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*From Chaos to Catholicism.* By W. G. Peck. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 252.

The Free Catholic movement in England, which originated with a small group of nonconformist ministers a few years ago, has already attained a position of sufficient importance to command the respectful attention of all schools of thought. Among its enthusiastic adherents are several theologians of eminence, and its steadily growing membership includes such apparently discordant elements as Roman Catholics, Evangelicals and Modernists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists and others. The Society has held two public conferences, and through the medium of a monthly magazine, *The Free Catholic*, is maintaining an active propaganda. What the Movement seeks to express and its objects, proximate and remote, are most attractively set forth in Mr. Peck's earlier book, *The Coming Free Catholicism*, and in the present volume.

It is at once startling and deeply significant that a Methodist divine loyal to his own denomination is at the same time

so imbued with the traditional conception of the Church and Sacraments, and so impressed with the necessity of this belief, that the assertion of it is his only concern. Yet no one can read this book which fairly represents the Movement without seeing that what is here set forth is a genuine Catholicism. The vague sentimentalism which imposes a new meaning at variance with the historic sense of the term is expressly repudiated. This is surely a novel phase of thought on the part of those who are supposed to be committed to Protestant standards, and a snap judgment would be that the position involves a hopeless confusion of opposites. But acquaintance with the literature of the new fellowship disabuses the mind of any such impression. What the position really involves is the contradiction and confutation of some ingrained prejudices of popular Protestantism, against which it arrays itself at every turn.

For example, Mr. Peck, who never neglects to stress freedom as well as Catholicism, is profoundly dissatisfied with the results of the sixteenth century upheaval. The situation in the modern religious and non-religious world he describes as simply "chaos." The Reformation is characterized as a "clumsy catastrophe" and "a false cleavage and dispersal of values:" "when division came, the life of the Church was broken on false lines." But this negative side of the author's treatment is incidental, the dominant purpose being to expound Catholic principles and to vindicate Catholic usages, which is achieved with the utmost frankness and without a trace of apology or embarrassment. As fair illustrations of the style and the argument may be cited his discussion of the metaphysics of Transubstantiation, the doctrines of the Sacrifice of the Mass and of Priesthood, and the justification of a beautiful and elaborate ceremonial. On the last point he says: "We do not insist that all Christians shall revel in a riot of symbolism; but we see no reason why Free Churchmen should be doomed to wallow in ugliness." Again: "We submit that the casual visitor to any ordinary Free Church

would never suspect, from anything there to be seen, that our Lord had ever been either born or crucified or exalted, or that anything in particular had ever happened either to Him or to us." And, in the same context, "The Church cannot possibly be too churchly, any more than a man can be too manly, or a spade too much like a spade." That assertions of this sort are not incompatible with the basic principles of English nonconformists is everywhere assumed and in some places explicitly affirmed, as, for example, where in the judgment of the writer a particular custom or delinquency of his co-religionists calls for criticism. Thus, the immediate purpose of this propaganda is the reestablishment of Catholic principles where these are not recognized, with the ultimate purpose of promoting the reunion of Christendom, which is declared to be possible only on the basis of essential Catholicity.

The author is a great admirer of Chesterton, and essays (with success as it seems to us) the task of interpreting his message. The second chapter of the book deals with this theme under the suggestive title "The Return to Sanity," which exhibits Chesterton's aim in contrast to the theories of Wells and Shaw, previously considered as elements of "Chaos." Incidentally, we may remark that the writer's strictures on "God, the Invisible King" and the Shavian philosophy are admirable. Having established the fact of the bankruptcy of the non-religious situation, he naturally raises the question whether the time is not ripe for a great religious revival—and on Catholic lines. Just as naturally, the next question to suggest itself is, What has Rome to offer? Here considerable space is devoted to Monsignor Benson's experience, which is regarded sympathetically, but the comment as to the Roman claims is "we are at once strongly attracted and repelled." "Our quarrel with Rome," he goes on to say, "is that she is not doing the best that might be done for the Catholic cause. She has an amazing opportunity which she seems unable to use." The next

chapter entitled *Ecclesia Anglicana: Her Problem and Opportunity*, is of special interest to ourselves. The author does not fail to remind us of our shortcomings and his view of the outlook for Anglicanism is on the whole decidedly pessimistic. We should be far from resenting this, if there were nothing more to be said. But of one thing there can be no doubt, namely that when we compare these estimates of Rome and Canterbury the writer's charity towards the former is abundant, towards the latter scant and grudging. In this respect the book is disappointing. We firmly believe that no phenomenon at all resembling Free Catholicism would be possible in the England of today apart from the object lessons, *good and bad*, afforded by Anglo-Catholic Churchmanship. It would have been the part of good judgment—we do not say, of candor, or generosity—to acknowledge this obligation more explicitly. But, notwithstanding this and a few other minor defects which are easily accounted for, as inseparable from the nonconformist attitude, the book is one of exceptional interest, of rare educational value, and of first rate importance. It is a scholarly contribution to the discussion of the most urgent of all our problems—the problem of Church Unity.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*The Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole.* Edited by Reginald Maxwell Woolley, D.D. New York: S. P. C. K. and The Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. 97.

The life and literary remains of this fourteenth century hermit have interested different groups of scholars during the last sixty years, as may be seen by reference to the English and German bibliographies of the subject. Rolle was a prolific writer and the immediate precursor of Wyclif in the work of translating the Bible. Naturally he has an important place in the history of English literature, and as a mystic and an expert in the devotional and contemplative life he ranks high. His works were extremely popular during his life and for more than a century after his death, to such an

extent that they were used by the Lollards with interpolations to further their own propaganda. Numerous MS. copies of his extensive literary output have come down to us, but those of the Office and the Miracula are only three and two respectively—Bodleian MS. e Museo 193, Lincoln MS. (C. 5.2.), and C. B. M. Cotton MS. Tib. A. XV. The present text is a careful recension of this extant material, eliminating the many blemishes of G. G. Perry's earlier reprint—the pioneer edition—*English Prose Treatises of Richard Hampole* (E. E. T. S., 1866). Unhappily, part of the Lincoln MS. has been rendered illegible by Perry's inexpert use of chemicals, and for this section Dr. Woolley could only reproduce Perry's readings.

His main object in presenting the material in accurate form is to give the historical student access at first hand to the chief if not the only source for the story of the author's life. A few pages suffice for the biography; then follows an explanation of the editor's critical task, and the introduction concludes with a brief list of authorities for the further information of the reader. We suggest that to these might well have been added Benson's *Short Life of Richard Rolle*, in *A Book of the Love of Jesus* (London, 1905) and Inge's *Studies of English Mystics* (London, 1906). Three sample folios representing the MSS. appear as photographs in frontispiece and in the body of the text: also, a specialized Index—places, dates, persons, and forms of the text—is supplied. It is a pleasure to commend this scholarly piece of work.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*Documents bearing on the Problem of Christian Unity and Fellowship 1916-1920.*  
New York: S. P. C. K. and The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 93.

This collection bears witness to the world-wide interest in the problem of Church Unity, embracing as it does eighteen reports issued by as many Conferences—official, semi-official, and unofficial—in different lands during the last four years. Primarily designed for the convenience of members of the recent Lambeth Conference, it meets the needs of a multitude



of interested inquirers and as a trustworthy record will be a useful manual of reference for some time to come. The documents represent proposals or tentative programmes from Anglican or Protestant sources, singly or combined (as in the case of our "Concordat") and emanate from Commissions, Committees, or Societies. They display the earnest efforts of Christian thought and devotion in attacking diverse phases of the problem as these emerge in dealing with conditions at home and abroad. Our situation in the United States, that which concerns the Church of England and the Nonconformists, in connection with which is presented a partial report of the address by the Bishop of London in the matter of reunion with English Wesleyans (the sole instance of an individual's utterance)—these phases on the one hand bulk large in the total exhibit. But the movements in South India and East Africa, which have their own special significance, are not overlooked in this survey. The editor, who prefers to be anonymous, has contributed three explanatory notes, two of them dealing with the East African situation. He deserves our thanks for these and for the trouble he has saved us in bringing together these documents. So far as we have noticed this is the only conspectus of the various approaches to the subject for the period it covers. Its importance, therefore, is manifest.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*The Five Lambeth Conferences.* 1867, 1878, 1888, 1897 and 1908. Compiled under the direction of the Most Reverend Randall T. Davidson, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. New York: S. P. C. K. and The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xii + 459.

This volume, which has already served the immediate purpose of informing members of the Conference of 1920 concerning the work of its predecessors, has, quite obviously, a more enduring value. It registers the collective judgments of our episcopate during nearly half a century on the pressing problems of the Church and human society; constituting a body of opinion which fairly represents the Anglican attitude



toward these great doctrinal and practical issues of the ante-bellum period. An idea of the nature and complexity of the latter may be derived from a cursory survey of the index, which runs into some seven hundred titles.

While the book is of vital interest chiefly to our own people as a record and review of the Five Conferences, it also deserves the attention of Christians of other names, who may easily gain from it a new impression of the essential unity and coherence of the Anglican Communion.

Necessarily the subjects dealt with in some of the reports and resolutions are questions of Church administration. The majority, however, are matters that affect the health of our civilization and the welfare of Christendom. These are approached in no spirit of dogmatism or narrow ecclesiasticism, but with the patience and sympathy, the learning, wisdom, and statesmanship that befit the responsibility of the collective episcopate.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*Training the Devotional Life.* By Luther Allan Weigle and Henry Hallam Tweedy. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1919, pp. 96.

This is a book by two members of the Yale Divinity Faculty for the instruction of pastors and Sunday School teachers in methods of training children to worship. It consists of ten lessons—five by each author—dealing with so many separate phases of the subject; and to every lesson is appended a set of questions for investigation and discussion, followed by a brief bibliography. The material is excellent and the treatment adequate to the purpose the writers have in view. It is also quite in line with modern methods of pedagogy and supplies what has been lacking in the ordinary methods of religious education of the young. As a matter of course the theological standpoint of the writers does not allow for any specific instruction of the child in eucharistic worship, which is a serious deficiency from the Churchman's point of view. Nevertheless, a child educated by this or any other method

in real acts of devotion to our Lord should be prepared as an adult to value the showing forth of His death which the liturgy provides. The pity is that so many of our people are denied the advantage of this teaching in theory and practice during their most impressionable years.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research.* Third edition. By A. T. Robertson. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1919, pp. lxxxvi + 1454. \$7.50.

It is reassuring to be told that this, the third, is the definitive edition of Dr. Robertson's great Grammar. It now numbers 1540 pages. In the four years since the second edition appeared, the Index of Greek words has grown to twice its former size, an exhaustive Table of Contents has been added, and forty pages of thoroughly indexed Addenda have been compiled.

The work deserves to be called great, even if size alone is considered. Fifteen hundred and forty pages! It is the labor of a life-time, though somehow or other Dr. Robertson has managed to get it done many years, we trust, short of that. He possesses the "genius for toil"; and with it the inspiration of a whole-hearted devotion to the New Testament and to the One whom it reveals, which alone could make possible the completion of his vast undertaking.

While Moulton's Grammar got little farther than the *Prolegomena*; and while Schmiedel's Winer has stood stock still now for a generation, without promise of completion, Dr. Robertson has "finished his course" and completed what he "began to build." The book is worthy, for its exhaustive analysis and tabulation of NT grammar, to be placed beside the great grammars of Classical Greek, the Blass-Gerth edition of Kühner, and Brugmann's colossal work.

The book is much larger than any other NT Grammar ever written. It is, in fact, an encyclopaedia of the subject, giving not only Robertson's own views, but the views of predecessors and contemporaries—often, where significant, the views of specialists in Classical Greek, like Goodwin and

Gildersleeve. One wonders if the work might not have been more convenient in two volumes; but this was impossible at the price (which is half what it would have been were not the plates endowed). And there is advantage in having a work of reference all in one volume, even though a bulky one. The format cannot be too highly praised. The paper is excellent, the type clear, the arrangement lucid and easy to follow, and there are ample margins for jotting down notes. The book is elaborately indexed—172 pp. of indices exclusive of the Table of Contents.

The point of view is thoroughly modern and historical. The Greek of the NT is the Koiné of the eastern Hellenistic-Roman world in the first century, though the NT writings had a more or less distinct sphere within a sphere of their own, due both to their purpose and provenance. Robertson does not, however, make the constant use of the papyri which Moulton did, with such vivid and lucid effect. The reason is simple—it is twenty years since Moulton wrote. The English-speaking world is now convinced that "Biblical Greek" never existed, and that the NT writers used the language most commonly "understood of the people." Robertson can now take for granted what Moulton found it necessary to prove. Nevertheless, an argument is usually more interesting than a dissertation, and Moulton has readers who would not venture to open a more formal treatise.

For the beginner in NT Grammar, for the busy clergyman with little time for research but anxious to be "oriented," there is no book like Moulton's *Prolegomena*. But when one is ready to "leave the first principles and press on to perfection," nothing can take the place, today, of Robertson's magnificent, encyclopaedic work.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (Harvard Theological Studies, VI). By Henry J. Cadbury. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. xi + 205 \$3.00.

Part I of this work was discussed at length in Vol. II, no. 4, of this REVIEW (March, 1920, pp. 318-323). We closed with

the words, "The appearance of Part II is awaited with great interest." Part II has now appeared, and instead of issuing it as a separate volume both parts are bound in one, as the sixth of the increasingly valuable "Harvard Theological Studies."

Part II more than justifies our eager anticipations. It is a minutely detailed, exhaustive analysis of Lk.'s treatment of his sources—such as his changes of order, abbreviations and omissions, avoidance of repetition, changes due to religious motives, and changes due to literary predilections. No more thorough discussion and tabulation of Lk.'s style and literary method has appeared, not even in Scholten's famous "Pauline Gospel," to which Cadbury acknowledges some indebtedness. The specialist must take it into account, and the seminary student will not find it uninteresting or without significance. The book is a challenge to someone to produce another on the First Gospel, like it in method and aim.

Is it a challenge or a promise? We hope it may be the latter, and that Professor Cadbury will be able to find time for a similar volume on Mt., and perhaps even one on Mk.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*A Jewish View of Jesus.* By H. G. Enelow. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920. Pp. 181. \$1.50.

This is a book by a Jewish rabbi. We welcome it as an evidence of the evolution of modern Judaism. Had we not known Mr. Enelow's profession we might have taken him for a Unitarian. Mr. Enelow's book is brilliantly written and deserves to be popular. The author shows why Jews should be interested in Jesus; he thinks that it will not endanger their attachment to the substance of their ancestral faith. The originality of Jesus is vindicated as bringing out in a newer light the teaching of the prophets of Israel. The author, who evidently has been charmed by the magic of Renan's style tells us that Jesus taught "a gospel of gentleness, of love, of a dreamy detachment from the material world" (p. 31). We, of course, do not agree with that

statement. First because it leaves unexplained the drama of the Passion: the Jews would not have asked the death of a gentle dreamer. Secondly, because the apocalyptic and stern element in the Gospels is most certainly original. Thirdly, because, from our point of view, the epithet of dreamers should rather be applied to the materialists and the unbelievers. The real is the invisible, which the unspiritual do not see, because *they* dream away their life while it is day.

We are glad to see Mr. Enelow declaring that we have no right to identify our Lord with the Essenes. We agree with his statement that knowledge of Jewish ways, sympathy and imagination, will help perhaps more than (classical) Greek and (scholastic) hermeneutics in a true understanding of Christ (p. 47). We shall add to these qualifications, a Willingness to follow Him. The secret of His power is that He asks for obedience, as well as understanding of the heart and mind. Rationalists fail there, as elsewhere, insofar that they are rationalists. Renan and others fell short because they neglected that element of will-adoration which is necessary in a study of Christ. Mr. Enelow felt, to a great extent, this divine Empire of Our Lord; he is led to call Him "the most fascinating figure in history." To us, He is more than that, but we shall, however, welcome Mr. Enelow's book. We would like to see it read extensively wherever there is a large Jewish element. It will help the Christians to be more fair-minded towards the Jews and create among the latter more interest in a misunderstood Christianity.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*An Introduction to Old Testament Study.* By E. B. Redlich. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. 280.

This simple little book is written for teachers and students, with a view to presenting in a careful and reverent manner the modern interpretations of the Bible, especially in view of the need of safe-guarding the faith of the present generation

of children. The author, therefore, describes in clear and concise form the nature of Old Testament literature, especially narratives and laws. Then he discusses the conception of God, prophecy, sacrifice, and priesthood, and the Messianic hope. A short chapter is devoted to the Canon of the Old Testament, and a fuller one to Old Testament science and miracles. At the end is a good series of questions with answers, and finally there is an interesting description of a method of teaching the Old Testament. There is nothing new in the book, but its clear style and simple and orderly presentation render it a very useful book for teachers of Bible classes and general students of the Bible.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

*Messiah's Return to the Synagogue. His Lunar and Solar Almanacs.* By E. S. Niles, Newton, Mass., 1920. Pp. 110.

This is an attempt to present the Messiahship of our Lord on Cabbalistic and Astronomic Lines. The author identifies Christmas with the Feast of Tabernacles. He gives us an apocalyptic interpretation of the riddle song *Had Gediah*. No doubt his interpretation will appeal to some who have the necessary astronomical knowledge. Foreign born Jews being often adepts of cabbalistic science will find the pamphlet interesting. Its point of view is not hostile to the Synagogue but irenic and sympathetic.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Proklos von Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts.* Von Franz Xaver Bauer. München: J. J. Lentnerschen, 1919.

Proclus was one of those who had the misfortune to be born in an age of greater men whose importance overshadowed his own; yet he throws a much-needed light upon the history of doctrine in the period between Ephesus and Chalcedon. He is, personally, interesting as the earliest known product of purely Constantinopolitan training, one who stood in closest relation to S. John Chrysostom, and was perhaps his secretary.



His famous sermon in 429 brought forth the reply of Nestorius in which his divergence from Catholic consent became apparent; it was preached perhaps at the Feast of the Annunciation, perhaps at Christmas. Later on Proclus himself became Bishop of Constantinople. His episcopate was marked by church building and activities of various kinds. Fr. Bauer gives good reasons for tracing back to him the Trishagion as it appears in developed form in the Eastern liturgies.

The author has given us a valuable study of the difficult period following Ephesus, of the attempted stamping out of Nestorianism, of the beginning of the "Three Chapters" controversy, of the development of the power of the Church in the Capitol City, and of the contest between East and West over the possession of Illyria. He dwells at length upon the relation of Proclus to Chrysostom; this obviously has the effect of rendering his theology significant, less that of an individual, more that of a school. He has no doubt of the Nestorianism of Nestorius. The theology of Proclus wholly excludes Monophysitism. In his Mariology we might object to Fr. Bauer's "Gottesmutter" as a rendering of the Theotokos of Proclus, but he reads nothing into the theology of Proclus on the subject. The sermons have some interesting allusions to the Calendar, especially in emphasizing the importance of Epiphany as contrasted with Christmas. We are indebted to the author for this thorough and scholarly study.

FRANK H. HALLOCK

*Die gesetzliche Verwandtschaft als Ehehindernis im abendländischen Kirchenrecht des Mittelalters.* Von Dr. Dominikus Lindner. Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 1920, pp. 90.

*Die Lehre vom Privileg nach Gratian und den Glossatoren des Corpus iuris canonici.* Von Dr. Dominikus Lindner, 1917, pp. 65.

In these two small pamphlets Dr. Lindner has given us scholarly studies of each of the subjects. In the first he shows that the opinion that spiritual relationship, contracted

in baptism between the baptized and the godparents, constituted an *impedimentum dirimens* to marriage did not appear until the ninth century in the letter of Nicholas I to the Bulgarians. This teaching was followed by Paschalis II at the beginning of the twelfth century. We hear nothing of legal relationship (by adoption) as an impediment until the middle of this century, then it first appears in the work of Gratian and is founded, in part, upon a misunderstanding of the letter of Nicholas, and in part upon the Roman Civil Law which regarded as one family "alle jene Personen, welche durch dieselbe väterliche Gewalt (*patria potestas*) miteinander verbunden waren" (p. 27). The following canonists are divided in opinion, those of the Bologna school recognizing the impediment; those of the Paris school, generally, opposing it; gradually the teaching of the stricter school was accepted and the range of relationship to which the impediment extended enlarged. Huguccio included in it all to the seventh degree, *i.e.*, he made it parallel with blood relationship; but the extent still remains an open question, "Heutzutage sind sich ja die Gelehrten darüber noch nicht einig" (p. 57).

In the second pamphlet starting from Gratian, or, indeed, long prior to his time, for Gratian accepts the definition of St. Isadore of Seville, the author studies the development of teaching concerning privilege in the decretals, the glosses and the comments, all of which are influenced by the etymology which Gratian had introduced. Gratian placed privilege in the category of law as distinguished from that of right; but it was not law for all, only for some, a group or an individual. The author finds Gratian inconsistent in his definitions, for there are more than one. The relation of privilege to common law may be, apparently, *praeter*, *extra*, or *contra*; the later canonists emphasize it as *contra* and find a difficulty in distinguishing between it and a dispensation. In general the subject is not one with which we are especially concerned; it is interesting, however, to notice the relation of the Popes

to the law, "Der Papst ist es, der den Kanonen ihre Rechtskraft verleiht. Er selber ist aber an sie nicht gebunden. Doch wie Christus, ohne an das Gesetz gebunden zu sein, das Gesetz befolgte, so beobachten auch die Päpste ihre eignen Gesetze und die ihrer Vorgänger des guten Beispiels wegen" (p. 43).

FRANK H. HALLOCK

*The Library of Photius.* By J. H. Freese. London: S. P. C. K. (N. Y.: Macmillan), 1920. pp. 243.

In the preface the translator explains that it is his intention to complete the work in six volumes, the last containing an account of the life and work of Photius. The author was interesting from many points of view and we shall await with interest the appearance of the succeeding volumes, for this is his first translation into English. From the contents of the present volume Photius seems to have been a discriminating and intelligent reader, inclined to severity in his criticisms and swayed, one must admit, by dogmatic prejudices. His reading is various, literary as well as theological, but he has a special taste for the historical and dwells at greatest length upon it. Among the things of especial interest in this first volume is the fact that he finds, apparently, no mention of Christ in his text of Josephus, for he would hardly have failed to notice it; his remarks on Philo (p. 95), on the heterodoxy of Clement of Alexandria (p. 200); often he gives us an account of works that we know only through him and in these we may find information of greater or less worth, e.g. his review of the History of Theophanes of Byzantium (p. 73) in which we have the first mention of the Turks and of the introduction of the culture of the silkworm into Europe. An interesting light is thrown upon modern views as to the character of New Testament Greek by the comments, frequently made, on the "atticisms" in various authors which destroy the charm of "ordinary language."

The brief notes are excellent, giving just what one needs

and no more. Congratulations are due both the author and the publishers for undertaking the task of putting Photius forth in an English dress. FRANK H. HALLOCK

*Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church.* By B. J. Kidd, D.D. Vol. I, to A.D. 313. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920, pp. 282.

A handy collection of translated documents, to supplement a lecture course on the same subject. It strongly resembles Mirot's *Quellen*, save that it is in translation, and it is slightly fuller than Ayer's *Source Book*, though less constructive in arrangement. LEICESTER C. LEWIS

*Church History from Nero to Constantine.* By C. P. S. Clarke, M.A. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1920, pp. 350.

A vigorous and edifying tracing of the story of the church in the first three centuries, for popular inspection. The action moves swiftly, the style is somewhat journalistic, and the interpretation strongly churchly. The book will serve admirably as a textbook for "Adult Bible Classes."

LEICESTER C. LEWIS

*The Evangelical Revival.* By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1920, pp. 360.

In a way this volume is an introduction to the author's former work on *The Church Revival*. Like that, it forms a book impossible to review, but equally with that, it affords a stimulating study in religious or rather theological psychology. Its purpose is to cover the ground from the Restoration to the start of the Oxford Movement.

LEICESTER C. LEWIS

*Missionary Survey as an Aid to Intelligent Co-operation in Foreign Missions:* By Roland Allen, M. A., and Thomas Cochrane, M.B., C.M. New York. Longmans, Green and Co., 1920, pp. xxii + 183.

The task of making a comprehensive and scientific survey of the great mission field or any part of it might be thought of as something merely for the expert statistician to accomplish by the use of his own approved methods, with the assis-

tance of those who are on the ground and are engaged in the actual work of missions. But such an impression tacitly assumes that the task, however vast and intricate in its details, is in idea and purpose essentially simple. Why, then, has it not been achieved? We do not lack statistics, and from time to time those who make it their business to analyze these are able to show us some of their meanings, but this is a very different thing from the comprehensive exhibit which the writers of this book consider the great desideratum and for which they plead. Their discussion of the problem is of great value, being based on their experience as representatives of the S. P. G. and the London Missionary Society in China, though it should be said at once that there is nothing of the provincial outlook in their view. They do not pretend to offer a final solution as to methods, but they suggest the lines along which a practical survey should be made and invite criticism. It is obvious that the book will be of great interest to specialists and to all experienced workers in the mission field, but it will appeal also to a far wider circle of readers, including some who have a general interest in the grand enterprise of missions but no adequate conception of its difficulties, its complexities, and its magnificent possibilities when once its problems get beyond the purely experimental stage. For these reasons the present volume will be found to be indispensable for purposes of mission study.

THEODORE B. FOSTER

*Who are the Slavs.* By Paul R. Radosavljevic. Boston: Badger, 1919, 2 vol. pp. 538, 601. \$7.50 net.

The author of these two volumes possesses an uncommon knowledge of his subject. A Serbian by birth, familiar with all Slavic languages, and a few others, psychologist, and anthropologist, he has been able to give us the most comprehensive study of the great Slavic race. The author has no sympathy for Bolshevism, as a non-slavic development of Socialism. He is perfectly familiar with the Orthodox Church, although his sympathy is rather with nondogmatic faith.

His knowledge of the literature of the subject is amazing as well as his ability to remain impartial. He admits that Macedonia was neither Serbian nor Bulgarian (I, 285, 286). Indeed his fairness to Bulgaria is evident all through. We find the subject of religion cropping out everywhere, for this is a Slavic book. Most interesting from that point of view are Chapter 17 on Slavic Religious Traits (survey of the sects, special treatment of the followers of Tolstoy) and Chapter 18 on Slavic Ethical-Moral Ideals. No one who wishes to know the Russian people and their democratic Church can afford to ignore Radosavljevich's work. It will also interest students of racial psychology. Owing to post-war conditions, the printing of the book was much delayed. This will explain the fact that the note on Protestant and Orthodox coöperation (I, 41) does not state that the Chicago conference in 1918 reached no results, as was to be expected. The proof reading has not always been accurate and the style is rugged in places, but that will be forgiven in that monument to the Slav Race, which as a book, has a character strangely similar to the sculptures of the Serbian Ivan Meshtrovich.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

*Ethiopic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary.* By Samuel A. B. Mercer. Oxford: University Press, 1920, p. 116. \$3.40.

The Ethiopic language should be more widely studied for many reasons. From a scientific point of view, in the comparative study of Semitic languages, because it is vocalized. From an ecclesiastical and historical point of view, because it is the Church Language of a genuine African Church, the only one that was able to hold its own against Islam. The main difficulty in the way of those who wished to study Ethiopic was the lack of a practical grammar in English. Dr. Mercer, who is probably the best Ethiopic scholar in this country, has prepared such a grammar, short, clear, pedagogically sound. We can promise that any one who has learned the Ethiopic alphabet, that *pons asinorum* of the language, will soon find a fruitful field for investigation and untrammelled scientific research.

JOHN A. MAYNARD



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

Wilhelm Wundt, professor of psychology at Leipzig for over fifty years, died in September last, in his eighty-ninth year. *M.*

Sunday, January the second of this year, was set apart by the House of Bishops as a day for visitation and exchange of pulpits between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches. *M.*

Professors W. F. Adeney and W. H. Bennett, so closely associated in literary work during their life-time, both died last September. Their most noted book, which was a joint work, is "A Biblical Introduction," in two parts, the Old Testament being by Bennett, and the New Testament by Adeney. *M.*

The *Religious Echo* is a monthly paper published and edited by the Rev. Dr. C. H. Demetry, Chicago, in the interest of the Greek Church. It is published mostly in Greek, but usually contains current news in English. A perusal of this interesting publication would give our clergy an excellent opportunity to brush up their Greek, and also to learn a great deal about our sister Church, with which we hope very soon to be in complete union. *M.*

The translation of II Cor. 4: 8, 9, in both the English and American Revision, is as follows:

We are pressed on every side, yet not straitened;  
perplexed, yet not unto despair;  
pursued, yet not forsaken;  
smitten down, yet not destroyed.

The word "*straiten*" is still familiar in the phrase "*straitened* circumstances," but otherwise it is rare. Hence, to the ear

"to be pressed, but not *straightened*," seems to be the meaning, and the impression is ludicrous.

Again, one who is "pursued" would gladly be "forsaken" by the pursuer, and there is an ambiguity not found in the A.V. The suggestion on the margin is both incoherent and amusing:

"We are pursued, yet not left behind."

What special difficulties are there in the way of a good translation? Exegetically, none. The only real difference of interpretation is in the second line, where some versions (Wiclif, Tyndale) wrongly limit the perplexities to those of poverty.

Two things defy translation. First the plays on words, the assonances of the participles. These cannot be reproduced, and it would be disagreeably monotonous if they could. The rhythm, however, is easily preserved.

Second, in a smooth, simple translation it is impossible to convey the full meaning of each Greek word, and it is foolish to try. Such distinctions belong to a commentary, not to a version intended for the wayfaring man.

The meaning of the passage is plain: the faithful Christian is constantly troubled, tried, perplexed, perhaps persecuted, but never forsaken, never overwhelmed, never left in despair.

Combining suggestions from Dr. Plummer's commentary and other sources, we may for exegetical purposes partly translate and partly paraphrase as follows:

On every side we are hard pressed, but are not in hopeless straits;

constantly we are in perplexity, but never in despair;  
we are persecuted by men, but never forsaken by God;  
we are struck down to the ground, but never slain.

But of all translations of this passage accessible for common use, whether for public reading or for private devotion, the familiar rendering of the King James version seems still the most satisfactory. *F. L. Palmer.*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### OLD TESTAMENT

- The Problem of the Pentateuch.* By M. G. Kyle. Oberlin: Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1920, pp. 289. \$2.15.  
*The Book of Job.* By M. Jastrow, Jr. Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1920, pp. 369. \$4.00 net.  
*An Introduction to Old Testament Study.* By E. B. Redlich. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 280.  
*Great Leaders of Hebrew History.* By H. T. Fowler. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 280. \$2.50.  
*The Ship "Tyre."* By W. H. Schoff. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920, pp. 156. \$2.00.  
*The Bible and Modern Thought.* By J. R. Cohn. New York: Dutton, 1920, pp. 341. \$6.00, net.

### NEW TESTAMENT

- A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek.* By E. D. Burton and E. J. Goodspeed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920, pp. 316. \$3.00 net.  
*The Epistle to the Galatians.* By E. D. Burton. New York: Scribner's, 1920, pp. 541. \$4.50 net.  
*The Revelation of St. John.* By R. H. Charles. New York: Scribner's, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 373 and 497. \$9.00 net.  
*A Jewish View of Jesus.* By H. G. Enelow. New York: Macmillan, pp. 181. \$1.50.

### DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

- The Eucharistic Sacrifice.* By Darwell Stone. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1920, pp. 88. \$1.40.  
*The Call To Unity.* By W. T. Manning. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 162. \$2.00.  
*The Foundations of Spiritualism.* By W. H. Smith. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1920, pp. 123. \$2.00 net.  
*Principles of Reunion.* By H. Kelly. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 40. 8 s. net.  
*The Spiritual Body.* By C. E. Holt. Edited by W. J. Sparrow-Simpson. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 145. 6 s. net.  
*Faith, Works, and Grace.* By A. Chandler. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 94. 3 s. net.  
*Living Again.* By C. R. Brown. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 58. \$1.00.

## CHURCH HISTORY

- Further Letters of Richard Meux Benson.* By W. H. Longridge. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1920, pp. 332. \$3.25.
- The Library of Photius*, Vol. I. By J. H. Freese. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 243. 10 s. net.
- The Meaning of Christianity According to Luther and His Followers in Germany.* By the Very Rev. M. J. Lagrange. Translated by the Rev. W. S. Reilly. Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.
- King Alfred's Books.* By the Rt. Rev. G. F. Browne. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 390. 30 s.
- St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh.* By H. J. Lawlor. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 183. 12 s. net.
- The Ethiopic Didascalia.* By J. M. Harden. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 204. 9 s. net.
- The Diocesan Synod.* By W. J. Sparrow-Simpson. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 48. 1 s. 3d. net.
- Christian Monasticism in Egypt.* By W. H. MacKean. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 160. 8 s. net.
- A Short History of the Church of Russia.* By R. F. Bigg-Wither. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 112. 8 s. net.
- Monophysitism.* By A. A. Luce. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 142. 7 s. 6 d.
- Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster.* By E. H. Pearce. New York: Macmillan, 1920, pp. 236. 12 s.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- Who Are the Slavs?* By Paul R. Radosavljevich. Boston: Badger, 1919, pp. 538 and 601. \$7.50 net.
- The Hittites.* By A. E. Cowley. London: Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1920, pp. 94. 6 s.
- The Influence of Animism on Islam.* By A. M. Zwemer. Macmillan, 1920, pp. 246. \$2.00.
- Church Music.* By A. S. Duncan-Jones. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1920, pp. 109. \$1.35.
- Present Day Problems in Christian Morals.* By F. G. Belton. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1920, pp. 205. \$2.55.







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